

THE HERMITAGE OF
ST. NEOPHYTOS
AND ITS WALL PAINTINGS

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AnBoll</i>	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
Hadjiioannou	Ι. Χ. Χατζηϊωάννου, 'Ιστορία καὶ ἔργα Νεοφύτου πρεσβυτέρου, μοναχοῦ καὶ ἐγκλείστου (Alexandria, 1914)
<i>Hermeneia</i>	Dionysius of Fournā, 'Ερμηνεία τῆς ζωγραφικῆς τέχνης, ed. by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (St. Petersburg, 1909)
Indianos and Thomson	A. C. Indianos and G. H. Thomson, "Wall-Paintings at St. Neophytos Monastery," ΚΣ, III (1940), p. 155 ff.
ΚΣ	Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαί (Nicosia, 1937-)
Kyprianos, Διάταξις	Τυπικὴ σὺν Θεῷ διάταξις, καὶ λόγοι εἰς τὴν Ἑξαήμερον τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Νεοφύτου τοῦ ἐγκλείστου, ed. by archimandrite Kyprianos (Venice, 1779)
Paulus Evergetinus	Παύλου... Εὐεργετινοῦ ἐπικαλουμένου, Συναγωγὴ τῶν θεοφθόγγων ῥημάτων... τῶν θεοφόρων καὶ ἁγίων Πατέρων (Venice 1783)
<i>REbyz</i>	<i>Revue des études byzantines</i>
Soteriou, Μνημεῖα	G. A. Soteriou, Τὰ βυζαντινὰ μνημεῖα τῆς Κύπρου (Athens, 1935)
Stylianou, <i>Painted Churches</i>	A. and J. A. Stylianou, <i>The Painted Churches of Cyprus</i> (London, 1964)
Tsiknopoullos, Ἁγ. Νεόφυτος	I. P. Tsiknopoullos, Ὁ ἅγιος Νεόφυτος... καὶ ἡ ἱερὰ αὐτοῦ μονή (Ktima, 1955)
Tsiknopoullos, <i>Encleistra</i>	I. P. Tsiknopoullos, <i>The Encleistra and Saint Neophytos</i> (Nicosia, 1965)
<i>Typikon</i>	Νεοφύτου... τυπικὴ σὺν Θεῷ διαθήκη, ed. by I. P. Tsiknopoullos (Larnaca, 1952)

PREFACE

THE following study describes the findings made during the restoration of the wall paintings in the monastery of St. Neophytos, undertaken by Dumbarton Oaks in collaboration with the Cyprus Department of Antiquities in the spring of 1963. Our work was confined to the wall paintings contained in four adjacent caves which we shall designate as the Naos, the Bema, the Cell, and the Refectory. Our aim was, first, to clean the paintings so that they could be properly studied and to make inconspicuous the graffiti which countless visitors have scratched on them; second, to consolidate the paintings so as to arrest their further deterioration. We should like to extend our warmest thanks to the Department of Antiquities, and in particular to its then Director, Dr. P. Dikaïos, the Curator of Monuments, Mr. A. Papa-georgiou, and the Chief Foreman, Mr. A. Orphanou, for their share in this work and for the various facilities which they so willingly placed at our disposal. The monastery under its then abbot, the Very Reverend Sophronios, and his successor, the present abbot, Alexios, courteously extended to us its hospitality, while the *oikonomos*, the Reverend Philaretos, did everything to make our stay comfortable. Much of the conservation work and of the photography was carried out by Mr. Yani Makridis of our staff. We have also benefited from the frequent visits of Mr. I. P. Tsiknopoullos, the greatest living authority on the life and works of St. Neophytos. For the identification of certain ascetic texts that occur in the wall paintings we are indebted to the Rev. F. Halkin, S. J.

After the completion of our work, the Department of Antiquities took in hand the structural repair of the cave complex and, amongst other measures, erected a handsome arcade in front of it (cf. figs. 3 and 4), thereby protecting this unique monument from the danger of further collapse and deterioration.¹

The monastery of St. Neophytos, commonly known as the Enkleistra ("place of reclusion"), is situated in a mountain valley about six miles northwest of Ktima, the chief city of the Paphos district. As one approaches the monastery, the eye first catches sight of the austere *katholikon* enclosed on three sides by relatively modern residential buildings (fig. 1). The *katholikon*, which will not concern us here, is a domed basilica in the "Franco-Byzantine" style and contains some frescoes of very fine quality.² About one hundred

¹ See Republic of Cyprus, *Annual Report of the Director of the Department of Antiquities for the Year 1963* (Nicosia, 1964), p. 10 and figs. 19, 20; *Annual Report... for the Year 1964* (Nicosia, 1965), p. 8 and fig. 14.

² See Soteriou, Μνημεία, fig. 41 (plan and section), pls. 104, 105, 106b (frescoes), 119b (icon from templon), 134a (capital). For a description of the frescoes, see Indianos and Thomson, p. 192ff.; Tsiknopoullos, "Αγ. Νεόφυτος", p. 131ff.; *id.*, *Enkleistra*, p. 46ff.; Stylianos, *Painted Churches*, p. 136f. Further reproductions of frescoes in Hadjiioannou, after pp. 262, 284; A. H. S. Megaw and A. Stylianos, *Cyprus: Byzantine Mosaics and Frescoes* (UNESCO World Art Series, 1963), pl. xxvi (in

yards to the west of the monastery enclosure is a deep ravine through which flows a winter stream.³ A stone bridge, dated by an inscription to the year 1877, spans the ravine and brings the visitor to the foot of a precipitous cliff running approximately north to south (fig. 3). It is in this cliff that Neophytos, in the year 1159, excavated his Enkleistra which eventually became the focus of a monastic community.

Despite the vicissitudes it has undergone in the course of eight centuries, the Enkleistra still preserves the personal stamp of its founder. In this respect it stands out as an all too rare exception in the vast impersonality of Byzantine art. To understand the paintings of the Enkleistra, we must therefore approach them through the life and writings of Neophytos.

THE LIFE OF ST. NEOPHYTOS

Unlike many monastic saints of the Byzantine world, Neophytos found no biographer among his disciples. What we know concerning his life—and we know a great deal—⁴ is due entirely to his own writings. When he was eighty years old he could speak proudly of himself as the author of sixteen volumes. A large part of his literary output has been preserved, though much of it is still unpublished.⁵ The biographical data that follow are culled from the *Typikon* which he composed, or rather revised, in 1214;⁶ his third homily on Creation;⁷ the account (ὑπόμνημα) of his deliverance from untimely death, and a letter on the same topic addressed to his brother, the monk John;⁸ and his panegyric of St. John Chrysostom.⁹

color). For the icons, see D. Talbot Rice *et al.*, *The Icons of Cyprus* (London, 1937), p. 218f., No. 42; p. 235f., No. 74; p. 272, No. 149; *L'art byzantin: 9^e Exposition du Conseil de l'Europe* (Athens, 1964), No. 259. Architecturally, the *katholikon* is related to the church of St. Mamas at Morphou. Especially noteworthy and, to our knowledge, quite unique in Cyprus are the Corinthian capitals of the nave which imitate Early Christian models. For the date of the *katholikon*, see *infra*, p. 203.

³ Unfortunately, part of this ravine was filled up in 1963 to provide a parking lot for motorcars, thus spoiling the exterior aspect of the Enkleistra.

⁴ See L. Petit in *Echos d'Orient*, II (1898/9), p. 257ff.; J. Hackett, *A History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus* (London, 1901), p. 348ff.; H. Delehaye in *Analecta Bollandiana*, XXVI (1907), p. 274ff.; Hadjiioannou, p. 53ff.; Tsiknopoullos, "Αγ. Νεόφυτος, p. 11ff.

⁵ See Petit, *op. cit.*, pp. 262ff., 372; Delehaye, *op. cit.*, p. 277ff.; Hadjiioannou, p. 31ff.; Tsiknopoullos in ΚΣ, XXII (1958), p. 69ff.; *id.*, *Typikon*, p. B'ff.; *id.*, "Αγ. Νεόφυτος, p. 163ff.; H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzant. Reich* (Munich, 1959), p. 633f. A useful guide is also provided by the *index auctorum* of the *Bibl. hagiogr. gr.* (1957). It is worth noting that the writings of Neophytos remained largely unread. His *Typikon*, the preserved portion of the *panegyrikon*, the *catecheseis* and the homilies on the Commandments, have survived only in the clean copies made under the Saint's supervision: see *infra*, notes 6, 32, 33, 34. The same was probably true of the homilies on the Hexaemeron and other works published by Kyprianos, the manuscripts of which have since disappeared.

⁶ This has been published four times: first, by Kyprianos, Διάταξις; secondly, and rather badly, by F. E. Warren, "The 'Ritual Ordinance' of Neophytus," *Archaeologia*, XLVII (1882), p. 1ff.; thirdly, by Hadjiioannou, p. 88ff.; lastly, by Tsiknopoullos, *Typikon*. All the editions are based on the same, unique manuscript (Edinburgh University, MS Laing 811) which, however, had fewer missing folia when Kyprianos used it than it does today. For an analysis of this and all other known Byzantine typika, see R. Janin in *Revue des études byzantines*, XXII (1964), p. 15ff.

⁷ Ed. by Kyprianos, Διάταξις, esp. p. 65ff.; reprinted by Hadjiioannou, p. 168ff.

⁸ Ed. by Kyprianos, Διάταξις, p. 34ff.; reprinted by Hadjiioannou, p. 137ff.

⁹ Ed. by K. Dyobouniotes in 'Επιστ. 'Επετ. τῆς Θεολ. Σχολῆς τοῦ Ἀθῆν. Πανεπιστ., I (1926), p. 329ff. The autobiographical passage is reproduced by H. Delehaye in *AnBoll*, XXVI (1907), p. 291.

Neophytos was born in 1134 at Lefkara, a village about halfway between Larnaca and Limassol, or, according to popular legend, in the neighboring settlement of Kato Drys.¹⁰ His parents, who were probably farmers, had seven other children, one of whom, named John, became a monk at the monastery of St. Chrysostomos at Koutsovendi and eventually its abbot. His mother also took the veil and assumed the name of Eudoxia.¹¹ When he had reached the age of eighteen, Neophytos had already convinced himself of the vanity of life. He determined to dissolve the contract of betrothal which his parents had concluded on his behalf seven months previously, and accordingly fled to the monastery of St. Chrysostomos where, he thought, he was not likely to be discovered. Two months later, however, he was apprehended and brought back home. By using all his powers of persuasion he was able to break off his engagement and was then allowed to return to the monastery where he joyfully received the tonsure (1152).

Since he was as yet completely illiterate, Neophytos was appointed to tend the vineyards of the monastery, a duty he fulfilled for five years. During this period he acquired the first elements of reading and writing—his spelling remained weak to the end of his life—and learned the Psalter by heart. He was then transferred to the church, appointed assistant sacristan (παρεκκλησιάρχης), and filled that office for two years. Although consumed by the "love of quietude," he was not allowed because of his youth to embrace the anchorite's life. Instead, he undertook a pilgrimage to the Holy Land (in 1158) with a view to finding a hermit there who would accept him as a disciple. He spent six months travelling in Palestine, but his quest proved unsuccessful. He therefore returned to St. Chrysostomos hoping to discover a retreat on the mountain slope adjoining the monastery. The abbot, however, did not approve of such a plan; so Neophytos proceeded to the castle of Paphos with a view to boarding a ship that would take him to the monastic community of Mount Latros, close to Miletus. At Paphos he was arrested by the guards as a fugitive and gaoled for a day and a night. He was robbed of the two gold nomismata he had taken to defray his passage and then released. Finding himself penniless, he wandered off into the hinterland. He did not go far, for he soon discovered the spot in which he was to spend the remainder of his life. This happened on the twenty-fourth of June, i.e., on the day of the nativity of St. John the Baptist, 1159, when Neophytos was twenty-five years old. He continued his search until September, but being finally satisfied with the advantages of the first spot, he set about widening the natural cave that he had found and cutting down the parts of it that were insecure. This work continued for a whole year until September 14 (the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross), 1160. In the innermost part of the cave he excavated a tomb for himself. He gave his hermitage the name of the Holy Cross and set up an altar in it so that

¹⁰ See Hadjiioannou, p. 11 f.; Tsiknopoullos, "Αγ. Νεόφυτος, p. 11 ff. The legend is not supported by any written evidence.

¹¹ Panegyric of St. Alypius, ed. by H. Delehay, *Les saints stylites* (Brussels-Paris, 1923), p. 193 f.; cf. *id.* in *AnBoll.*, XXVI (1907), p. 292.

he should not be deprived of holy communion. Five years later he set out in quest of a particle of the True Cross and was fortunate in finding one.¹²

At that time the episcopal see of Paphos was vacant; but in 1166 a bishop was appointed in the person of Basil Kinnamos¹³ who conceived a great affection for Neophytos and, after four years of urging, persuaded him to accept the priesthood and to take in one resident disciple for which purpose a subsidy was provided. "So from that time on [i.e., from 1170 onward] the structures of the Enkleistra began to be extended and adorned, and the entire length of the cliff was excavated for the construction of cells. And in the twenty-fourth year of my confinement [1183] the Enkleistra was painted throughout and the cliff next to it was hewn out and consecrated as the church of the Holy Cross."¹⁴ We may note in passing the decisive role of Basil Kinnamos in discovering Neophytos and setting him up as head of a monastic community: we shall come back to this point later.¹⁵

In spite of his protestations, Neophytos acquired a sizable following. It was probably in 1177 that he drew up his first Typikon, the text of which has not been preserved.¹⁶ In it he laid down that the number of monks should be "very small." By 1214, when the Typikon was revised, he consented under pressure that the number be raised to fifteen or even eighteen. The most prudent and God-fearing among them was to serve as administrator (*oikonomos*) and another monk of similar qualities as keeper of stores (*docheiarios*) so that the Enkleist should be always free from worldly cares. The institution of a school for lay children was expressly forbidden; so was the admittance of women into the monastery and the use of female donkeys and mules as being "an unseemly thing, conducive to the devil's machinations." Neophytos himself strenuously opposed the acquisition of any property. After the Latin conquest (1191), however, there was general scarcity of food, and besides the number of the community increased by the influx of strangers. To meet the added strain, Neophytos unwillingly consented to the acquisition of some arable land, a vineyard and a few head of cattle: these possessions, however, were to be regarded by the monks as necessary evils, and the brotherhood were earnestly enjoined to avoid their corrupting influence.

The most remarkable experience that Neophytos had in his later life occurred on January 24, 1197. This is described by him in his account of the "Divine

¹² Neophytos must have obtained the particle in Cyprus, possibly from Stavrovouni. The presence of two pieces of the Cross in Cyprus is attested in the early twelfth century: *Anselmi cantoris S. Sepulcri Epistola*, PL, 162, col. 732A. A. Frolow, *La relique de la Vraie Croix* (Paris, 1961), p. 403, is mistaken in supposing that Neophytos had brought the particle from Palestine. At a later date, Lefkara, the Saint's birthplace, also boasted a relic of the Cross: Leontios Makhairas, *Recital concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus*, ed. by R. M. Dawkins (Oxford, 1932), I, p. 38. The Cross of Lefkara had allegedly been stolen from Stavrovouni: see Giovanni Mariti, *Travels in the Island of Cyprus*, trans. by C. D. Cobham (Cambridge, 1909), p. 92.

¹³ V. Laurent in *REByz*, VII (1949), p. 54f. has shown that Kinnamos was still in office in 1190 when he ratified the Typikon. He must have died shortly thereafter, since in 1194 the bishop of Paphos was named Bacchus; the latter also confirmed the Typikon.

¹⁴ *Typikon*, chap. 5, p. 9.

¹⁵ See *infra*, p. 205.

¹⁶ So Petit, *op. cit.*, p. 260; Delehay in *AnBoll*, XXVI (1907), p. 275; Tsiknopoullos, *Typikon*, p. Z'. Laurent, *op. cit.*, p. 52ff. dates the first redaction to 1178.

Sign," a monument of unintentional humor.¹⁷ Finding himself unduly bothered by visitors, Neophytos decided to dig for himself another cell higher up the cliff where he would be inaccessible and to which he could retire whenever he so wished. A ladder was accordingly set up which the sixty-three-year-old hermit ascended, fortified with cross, Gospel, incense, and lamp. Every morning, after matins, the operation was repeated. Neophytos himself did the digging, causing a shower of stones to fall down the face of the cliff to the consternation of the other monks. At length the new cave was ready: its mouth was blocked up with a masonry wall, while the inside was consolidated with chips of stone and plastered.

Having gone so far, the hermit realized that every good thing had its drawbacks: for the new cell had no privy. This necessary appendage could not be constructed in the same spot since it would have been directly above the church and the original Enkleistra which, by this time, had acquired the status of a sanctuary. On the other hand, Neophytos was unwilling to undertake the perilous descent several times a day. He accordingly resolved to cut a ledge along the face of the cliff on the same level as the upper cell, and to contrive his privy some distance farther south, opposite a cypress tree that was then growing in the ravine below. After invoking divine help, Neophytos set to work cutting a narrow path. At first, everything went well; but on the fateful twenty-fourth of January, a Friday, as he was sitting down and digging, a stone about six feet long fell on top of him, at the devil's instigation. "O Lady, help me! O Christ, help me!" Neophytos cried out, forgetting in his fright the proper order of address. But his prayer was heard; the rock pinned down, without hurting, his right arm; one finger of his left hand was wounded; his left leg was hanging down the precipice. It even appeared to Neophytos that the rock, abandoning its natural downward movement, began creeping upward. He remained immobilized until some brethren arrived to his rescue and released him by breaking up the rock with a hammer. Then he was taken down to have his finger bandaged. He cautioned the monks against divulging for the time being the news of his experience lest, as might well happen, some busybody see its funny side.

Neophytos tells us in great detail what pain he endured from his wounded finger; how he spent six sleepless nights; how, at times, he held up his hurting right hand and, at others, laid it on his breast. If the tip of one finger, he ruminated, was able to cause such pain, what agony would one endure if one broke an arm or a leg! Imagine, however, that he had fallen down the cliff (later he measured its height as being eighteen fathom)¹⁸: his flesh and muscles would have been severed asunder, his bowels would have gushed out, his

¹⁷ See *supra*, note 8. Neophytos specifies that this event occurred after he had been residing at the Enkleistra for nearly forty years, i.e., shortly before 1199 (Kyprianos, Διάταξις, p. 35: ἐπειδὴ μῆκος χρόνου ζωῆς παρετάθη μοι ἐν τῇ ἐγκλείστρᾳ ταύτῃ, καὶ ἐγγὺς που τεσσαράκοντα ἐτῶν ἐν αὐτῇ μοι ἐγένετο ἡ ἀμελὴς παροικία), and further that the twenty-fourth of January fell on a Friday (*ibid.*, p. 39). These two indications point to the year 1197. This was already remarked by Petit, *op. cit.*, p. 261. Unfortunately, Hackett, *op. cit.*, p. 350, Hadjiioannou, p. 57, Indianos and Thomson, p. 214, and others have accepted the date 1199 (when January 24 fell on a Sunday).

¹⁸ Cf. *infra*, p. 132.

brain would have been scattered about. And as for the trunk of that cypress tree, it could have cut an elephant in half, not to speak of Neophytos' feeble body.

When his wound had healed, Neophytos, undaunted, continued to cut the ledge he had started. In writing to his brother John, he explains at length how he succeeded by the force of his prayers to dispose of the stone that had fallen on top of him as well as of three smaller stones that had slipped down over the first: he managed to do this without pushing them over the precipice, which would have destroyed the above-mentioned cypress tree as well as some vines. The work was interrupted for the duration of Lent, and it was only after Easter (April 6) that the lavatory was completed. Another overhanging rock was buttressed up from below; finally, a hollow in the northern part of the cliff was enclosed by a wall and named the cave of St. John the Baptist. We shall presently come back to this cave.¹⁹

Neophytos decreed that the memorial of his deliverance should be celebrated every year on the twenty-fourth of January, which was also the feast of St. Xene. Her name lent itself to the kind of pun that no Byzantine author could resist: for the day of St. Xene was marked by a truly strange (ξένον) event, an event capable of astonishing (ξεπνίλειν) all intelligent and pious men. Neophytos composed a special *akoluthia* for the service of that day with appropriate lections and prayers, and he decreed that the account of his deliverance should be solemnly read out.

Neophytos was still alive in May 1214 when the revised version of his Typikon was copied by a certain priest Basil who served as notary (ταβουλάριος) for the see of Paphos. In it Neophytos includes detailed instructions for his burial, which we shall discuss in due course,²⁰ and designates his nephew, the *hieromonachos* Esaias, then serving as *oikonomos* of the monastery, to be his successor. Neophytos is said to have died on a twelfth of April;²¹ the year, however, is not recorded. Considering the Saint's advanced age, he must have died soon after 1214.

The lifetime of Neophytos spans one of the most dramatic periods of Cypriot history. Born at a time of relative peace, he was a young man at the monastery of St. Chrysostomos when the island was devastated by Renaud de Châtillon (in 1155 or 1156).²² As a mature man he witnessed the oppressive and scandalous government of Isaac Comnenus (1185–1191). He was nearly sixty when Cyprus was conquered by Richard Lion Heart (1191), then sold to the Templars, and he lived long enough to see three Lusignan kings succeed one another on their new throne. The response of Neophytos to these events is expressed in an opusculum known as *De calamitatibus Cypri* which he composed in 1196 or 1197 for the benefit of a prominent Cypriot who had fled to Constantinople.²³

¹⁹ *Infra*, p. 135.

²⁰ *Infra*, p. 197.

²¹ Hadjiioannou, p. 58.

²² See Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, I (Cambridge, 1949), p. 306f.

²³ This has been published many times. Most accessible editions: PG, 135, col. 495ff.; Sathas, *Bibl. gr. med. aevi*, II, p. 1ff.; C. D. Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria* (Cambridge, 1908), p. 9ff., with English trans. See also E. Freshfield in *Archaeologia*, XLVII (1882), p. 37ff.

This is not a document that betokens any unusual breadth of vision. Neophytos voices equal detestation of Isaac Comnenus, of the Saracens, and of all Westerners; he informs us that "Ingliterra is a country beyond Romania on the north;" admits that the English were received with open arms; expresses concern for the plight only of the rich; and hammers home the lesson that these misfortunes were due to the "burthen of our sins." Neophytos, it would seem, regarded foreign occupation as a temporary chastisement, for in his revised *Typikon* of 1214 he solemnly commends his disciples to the care of the Byzantine emperor.²⁴ He could hardly have guessed that Cyprus would never again be ruled by the basileus.

The calamities of Cyprus appear, however, to have had little adverse effect on the Enkleist's life. The Latin conquest brought, as we have seen, an influx of strangers into the monastery. To provide for its growing needs the Enkleistra acquired landed property: by 1203/4 it already had a *metochion*.²⁵ The number of visiting pilgrims steadily increased. The monastic complex continued to expand and its buildings were decorated with paintings. As in other parts of the Greek world, foreign occupation did not necessarily work to the disadvantage of monasteries.

Judging by his published writings, Neophytos was a man of considerable talent and industry, if of very limited culture. For one who did not learn to read until he was eighteen, and who, apparently, did not start writing until he was in his late thirties,²⁶ his command of ecclesiastical Greek is quite remarkable. His diction is not always correct, but it is more forceful and vivid than that of his better educated contemporaries.²⁷ He was also a poet of sorts and composed "politic" verse in demotic as well as hymns and epigrams in a more "elevated" language.²⁸ His models were, naturally, the Bible, the Church Fathers, and whatever devotional literature he could lay his hands on. Cyprus was very poor in books as Neophytos himself makes clear: in composing his homilies on Genesis he had before him the *Hexaemeron* of St. John Chrysostom, but all his attempts to secure a copy of St. Basil's *Hexaemeron* remained fruitless, although he searched for this very common book²⁹ throughout the districts of Paphos and Arsinoe over a period of thirty-seven years. In the end he had to rely on inspiration from above.³⁰

²⁴ *Typikon*, chap. 8, p. 10.

²⁵ Cod. Paris. gr. 301, fol. 315. Cf. J. Darrouzès in *REbyz*, VIII (1951), p. 172f.

²⁶ Cf. Tsiknopoullos in *KΣ*, XVIII (1955), p. 37; XXII (1958), p. 75.

²⁷ Tsiknopoullos in *KΣ*, XX (1956), p. 99ff.; XXIII (1959), p. 59ff., gives an analysis of Neophytos' diction and a lexicon of neologisms. See also *id.* in *KΣ*, XVII (1953), p. 29ff. (use of apposition), and XIX (1955), p. 45ff. (spelling). For his use of epithets, *id.*, 'Εγκωμιαστικά Νεοφύτου πρεσβυτέρου μοναχοῦ καὶ ἐγκλείστου (Nicosia, 1962).

²⁸ See Tsiknopoullos in *KΣ*, XVI (1952), p. 41ff.; *id.* in *KΣ*, XXVII (1963), p. 77ff. attributing to Neophytos three demotic poems previously published by E. Legrand, *Bibl. grecque vulgaire*, I (Paris, 1880), pp. xiff., 17. See also S. G. Mercati in *Bessarione*, XXXIII (1917), p. 199ff.; XXXIV (1918), p. 229ff.

²⁹ Over one hundred manuscripts of this work are known: cf. D. Amand in *Rev. bénédictine*, LII (1940), p. 141.

³⁰ Kyprianos, Διάταξις, p. 66f. Neophytos took himself quite seriously as the mouthpiece of the Holy Ghost, e.g., in pontificating on the then controversial issue of the incorruptibility of Christ's body in the Eucharist. He failed, however, to understand the point at issue: see M. Jugie in *REbyz*, VII (1949), p. 1ff.

The contents of the Enkleistra's library may be to a large extent reconstituted. As least thirty manuscripts, once the property of the Enkleistra, are still preserved.³¹ Four of these contain Neophytos' own works, viz. the *Typikon* (Edinburgh University, MS Laing 811), the first volume of his *panegyrikon* (Paris. gr. 1189),³² various homilies and letters (Coislin 287),³³ and two books of *catecheseis* (Paris. suppl. gr. 1317).³⁴ The monastery has kept only one of its manuscripts, an *Evangelion*, as well as seven loose folia pertaining to Neophytos' *Hexaameron*.³⁵ The remaining twenty-five manuscripts are all in Paris. It is not clear how many of these were acquired during the Saint's lifetime, except for those that bear his autograph notes (Coislin 71, 245; Paris. gr. 576, 691, 1454, 1492, perhaps also 1461 and 1470) and naturally excluding the manuscripts of a later date (Paris. gr. 318, 870, 1021, 1627) and one that is known to have been given to the Enkleistra in 1450 (Paris. gr. 710). Adding a dozen or so liturgical books which the monastery may be expected to have possessed and allowing for a few more items, we obtain a total of about fifty (excluding Neophytos' own writings) which is a reasonable figure for the accumulated holdings of the Enkleistra prior to the Turkish occupation.³⁶ We may note that all the surviving manuscripts are of routine content (patristic, ascetic, and hagiographical): not a single lay author is represented.

Industrious and devout as Neophytos undoubtedly was, he was also a man of quite remarkable vanity. This trait is as apparent in his writings as it is in the paintings of the Enkleistra. Only a very vain and simple-minded man would have composed a homily on the subject of an accident he had had while excavating a lavatory, and decreed furthermore that this piece of tittle-

³¹ Listed by J. Darrouzès in *REbyz*, VIII (1951), p. 162ff.; Tsiknopoullos in *KΣ*, XVIII (1955), p. πς' ff.; XXII (1958), p. 190f.; *id.*, "Αγ. Νεόφυτος p. 205ff. Tsiknopoullos states that twenty manuscripts were acquired in the Saint's lifetime (among which he includes Paris. gr. 1471, the provenance of which does not appear to be certain) and nine after his death. Among the latter he lists Paris. gr. 301, copied in 1204 for a *metochion* of the Enkleistra: see J. Darrouzès in *REbyz*, VIII (1951), p. 172f., and in *KΣ*, XXIII (1959), p. 31; as well as Paris. gr. 395 and 1553, which are of uncertain origin.

³² Analyzed by Hagiographi Bollandiani and H. Omont, *Catal. codd. hagiogr. graec. bibl. nation. Paris.* (Brussels, 1896), p. 86ff.; H. Delehay in *AnBoll.*, XXVI (1907), p. 279ff.; A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand d. hagiogr. und homilet. Lit. d. griech. Kirche*, III, 1. Hälfte (Leipzig, 1943), p. 681ff.

³³ See R. Devreesse, *Le fonds Coislin* (Paris, 1945), p. 271f.

³⁴ Ehrhard, *op. cit.*, p. 684ff.; Ch. Astruc and M.-L. Concasty, *Le Supplément grec*, III (Paris, 1960), p. 602ff., note that this manuscript is by the same hand as Coislin 287, the Edinburgh *Typikon*, and part of Paris. gr. 1189. The scribe was the notary Basil.

³⁵ Tsiknopoullos, "Αγ. Νεόφυτος, p. 210, No. 25; one of the loose folia is reproduced on p. 188, as well as in *KΣ*, XXII (1958), p. 137, and *Enkleistra*, p. 92. Hadjiioannou, pp. 47, 79, speaks of five folia of the *Hexaameron*.

³⁶ Tsiknopoullos in *KΣ*, XVIII (1955), p. 4α'f., estimates that the library numbered at least one hundred volumes during the Saint's lifetime (excluding his own works) and at least 150 by the end of the Frankish occupation. These figures seem rather exaggerated in the light of what little we know about the size of Byzantine monastic libraries. Thus, the monastery founded at Constantinople by Michael Attaliates, a very rich and cultivated man, was originally given twenty-eight books, increased to seventy-nine after the founder's death: Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et dipl. gr. med. aevi*, V (1887), p. 324ff.; W. Nissen, *Die Diataxis des Michael Attaleiates von 1077* (Jena, 1894), p. 86ff. The church of St. John the Baptist εις τὸ 'Ρυάκιον had thirty books in 1362/3: A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus in *Viz. Vrem.*, XI (1904), p. 394ff. The monastery of St. John on Patmos, at the time of its greatest prosperity (1201), owned 330 volumes; but this was the result of more than a century of book collecting by an establishment which numbered at the time 150 monks and which had been favored by repeated imperial benefactions: see Ch. Diehl in *BZ*, I (1892), p. 488ff. On further Byzantine catalogues of manuscripts, see N. A. Beès in *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, XVII (1912), p. 268ff.

tattle should be solemnly read in church once a year. After being told how the bruise on his little finger healed without hurting his nail, and how, despite his self control, he had to relieve his bladder twice or three times a day, we feel disinclined to believe his protestations that this ridiculous account was written "not for the sake of vainglory, but for the praise of God and the benefit of the audience."³⁷ The same naive vanity meets us at every corner of the Enkleistra. In the Cell Neophytos kneels at Christ's feet; an inscription on the ceiling details his career. He is represented once more in the Bema, escorted by Michael and Gabriel, not on the lower part of the wall, but at the very top of the ceiling. The portrait in the Naos may, once again, represent Neophytos. Most extraordinary of all and verging on the blasphemous is the arrangement whereby, after his "ascension" to the top of the cliff, the Enkleist attended divine service through a hole in the mandorla of the ascending Christ. Invisibly hovering in mid-air, upheld, as it were, by the flying angels of the Ascension fresco, the Enkleist must have appeared to his disciples as almost the *synthronos* of the deity.

In the Enkleistra Neophytos built a monument to himself. Even during his lifetime his original cell, which he pompously calls ἡ πρωτοκάθεδρος ἐγκλείστρα, had attained the status of a sanctuary. Certain persons, he reports, had rashly attempted to sit down in it, as if it were an ordinary cell, but were miraculously prevented from doing so. He expresses the belief that in the future, too, no one would be allowed by the Lord to sit down in the Enkleistra.³⁸

THE MONASTERY AFTER THE DEATH OF NEOPHYTOS

We may assume that Neophytos was buried according to the detailed instructions contained in his Typikon and that he was succeeded as abbot by his nephew Esaias. We have no indication whether Esaias followed his uncle's example by living a life of reclusion; it appears, in any case, that the "enkleistic" system was soon abandoned and that the monastery became a regular *koinobion*. The founder's tomb proved to have miraculous powers³⁹ and this contributed, no doubt, to the prosperity of the monastery under Lusignan rule. There is no evidence of decline in the period of Venetian occupation (1489-1571). At the end of the fifteenth century the yearly revenue of the monastery was estimated at two hundred ducats, which compared favorably to that of other religious establishments.⁴⁰ In 1503, as we shall see, the paintings of the rock complex were restored at the expense of a monk also called Neophytos who died in 1512 and who is styled in his obit "the new *ktitor*."⁴¹ It is probable that the *katholikon*, too, was built and decorated at approximately the same period.⁴² In 1523 the Patriarch of Constantinople, Jeremias I, visited

³⁷ Kyprianos, Διάταξις, p. 45.

³⁸ *Typikon*, fol. 82^r, p. 37.

³⁹ Leontios Makhairas, ed. by R. M. Dawkins, I, p. 38.

⁴⁰ L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre*, III (Paris, 1855), p. 503.

⁴¹ Paris. gr. 1461, fol. 35. Cf. Darrouzès in *REbyz*, VIII (1951), p. 187.

⁴² See *infra*, p. 203.

the Enkleistra and spent seventeen days in it.⁴³ Two references pertaining to the latter period of Venetian rule indicate that the body of St. Neophytos was intact and that it was still working miracles.⁴⁴ If this is not simply a pious tale, we must conclude that the tomb had been opened in disregard of the explicit instructions of the *Typikon*.⁴⁵

Soon after the Turkish occupation of the island the possessions of the Enkleistra were confiscated (1585),⁴⁶ and the monastery brought to the verge of extinction. It was further harassed by the bishop of Paphos who stood to gain by its disappearance. The dissolution of the community was, however, arrested by the abbot Leontios. About 1611 the monastery was declared a "peculiar" (σταυροπήγιον) by the archbishop of Cyprus. Not satisfied with this, Leontios proceeded to Constantinople in 1631 and obtained a privilege from the Patriarch Kyrillos Loukaris.⁴⁷ This document not only confirms the independence of the Enkleistra for all time to come, but actually confers on its abbot precedence over the abbots of all the other monasteries of Cyprus.

Although restored by Leontios "to almost its former condition and honor," the Enkleistra continued to stagnate. Towards the middle of the seventeenth century it sold practically all of its manuscripts to agents of the French government.⁴⁸

In 1735 the Enkleistra was visited by the Russian pilgrim Grigorovič-Barskij who found only two or three monks in residence. He spent three days in the monastery and drew a very competent sketch of it, reproduced here as figure 2. He reports that the monastery had lost all of its records and that no one was able to inform him by whom it had been founded; the only tradition he was able to pick up was that Neophytos had lived in a cavern. Barskij visited this cavern which he compares to a swallow's nest, so difficult of access it was. He observes that the Naos was decorated throughout with "uncommonly strange and awe-inspiring paintings which induce contrition in every devout worshipper." Within the sanctuary he was shown the Saint's tomb which, he was told, had never been opened. The tomb was covered with a slab of marble and was used in lieu of an altar for the rite of the offertory.

Barskij was favorably impressed by the *katholikon* which he intelligently compares to the church of St. Mamas at Morphou. He was told that the *katholikon* was being built at the time of the conquest of Cyprus by the infidel,

⁴³ A note to that effect is found in three manuscripts, Coisl. 65, Coisl. 105, and Paris. gr. 1627. See B. de Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca Coisliniana* (Paris, 1715), pp. 129, 180; Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, I (Paris, 1740), pp. 320, 322 (text misunderstood); Devreesse, *Le fonds Coislin*, p. 94; Darrouzès, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

⁴⁴ Neophytos Rhodinos, *Περὶ ἡρώων . . . ὁποῦ εὐγέκασιν ἀπὸ τὸ νησι τῆς Κύπρου* (Rome, 1659), p. 95f.; Stefano di Lusignano, *Chorografia, et breve historia universale dell'isola de Cipro* (Bologna, 1573), fol. 25v. The two passages are identical.

⁴⁵ *Typikon*, fol. 81, p. 37. Cf. *infra*, p. 197.

⁴⁶ Coisl. 71, fol. 53v. See S. Eustratiades in 'Ἀπόστολος Βαρνάβας, VI (1934), p. 57.

⁴⁷ The text of the privilege is printed by Hadjiioannou, p. 127ff.; Tsiknopoullos, 'Ἁγ. Νεόφυτος, p. 226f.; *id.*, *Βίος καὶ αἱ δύο ἀκολουθίαι τοῦ ἁγίου Νεοφύτου* (Larnaca, 1953), p. 52ff. The document is said to be preserved only in an eighteenth-century copy.

⁴⁸ See H. Omont, *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles* (Paris, 1902), II, pp. 857, 967 ff.; Devreesse, *Le fonds Coislin*, p. ivff.; Darrouzès in *REbyz*, VIII (1951), p. 162ff.

and that it was left unfinished, which is why it had no narthex. There were about ten cells, built of dressed stone, for the monks, but these were mostly vacant.⁴⁹

The translation of the Saint's relics from his original tomb to the *katholikon* took place probably in 1756.⁵⁰ It is alleged that at this time the very existence of the tomb had been forgotten (ἀγνοούμενος, ὡς εἶπεῖν καὶ οὐ μόνον ἀμφίβολος) in spite of the fact that Barskij had been shown it twenty years previously. On the night of September 28 of that year a certain monk who was "consumed by the passion of covetousness" crept into the Enkleistra and broke into the sepulchral chamber believing it to contain buried treasure. Finding his progress barred by a stone slab, he split it in the middle. Thereupon he fell senseless to the ground. When he had regained consciousness he went to the abbot and confessed his misdeed. The entire brotherhood then hastened to the tomb: they found a wooden coffin and inside it the body of Neophytos with the chains he had worn in his lifetime.⁵¹ His garments had decayed but the skin was still intact and a sweet smell emanated from the body. The discovery was made known to the archbishop of Cyprus who sent a clerical deputation to supervise the translation of the relics; Kyprianos, who tells the story, was present on that occasion. The relics were placed behind the altar-table of the *katholikon*, but were later transferred to the nave and enclosed in a kind of four-poster wooden catafalque. The skull was separated from the rest of the body and exposed to the adoration of the faithful; in 1802 it was placed in a silver reliquary box.⁵² The lower jaw and one of the fingers were, however, stolen.⁵³ The *inventio* naturally contributed to the prosperity of the monastery which could now afford to purchase all the adjoining fields as well as various items of furniture.⁵⁴

In 1779 the abbot Ioannikios restored the church, i.e., presumably, the *katholikon*.⁵⁵ His successor Theophanes made in 1796 a carved abbot's chair and wooden stalls for the Naos of the Enkleistra;⁵⁶ these were still in place a few years ago but have since been removed. Further improvements and, in particular, the erection of a handsome suite of rooms in the east residential wing (1818) were carried out by the abbot Joachim who, after the outbreak of the Greek Revolution (1821), was impaled at Nicosia by order of the Turkish

⁴⁹ *Stranstvovanija Vasil'ja Grigoroviča-Baraskago*, ed. by N. Barsukov, II (St. Petersburg, 1886), p. 274 ff.

⁵⁰ So K. Hadjipsaltis in ΚΣ, XXVI (1962), p. 13 ff. There is some confusion about the date. Kyprianos, in his Ἀκολουθία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Νεοφύτου τοῦ ἐγκλείστου (Venice, 1778), says that the invention of the relics took place on September 28, 1750 (his account is reprinted by Hadjiioannou, p. 64 ff.; English summary in Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, p. 230). The same date appears in a manuscript document reproduced without identification by Tsiknopoullos, *Enkleistra*, fig. 113. However, in his Ἱστορία χρονολογικὴ τῆς νήσου Κύπρου (Venice, 1788), p. 350, the same Kyprianos dates the invention to 1757.

⁵¹ As far as we are aware Neophytos himself never speaks of having worn chains.

⁵² Tsiknopoullos, Ἀγ. Νεόφυτος, pp. 73, 137. The reliquary is reproduced by Tsiknopoullos, *Enkleistra*, fig. 133.

⁵³ Hadjiioannou, p. 78.

⁵⁴ Tsiknopoullos, Ἀγ. Νεόφυτος, p. 66.

⁵⁵ Hadjiioannou, p. 325; Indianos and Thomson, p. 220; Tsiknopoullos, Ἀγ. Νεόφυτος, p. 69.

⁵⁶ Indianos and Thomson, p. 220; Tsiknopoullos, Ἀγ. Νεόφυτος, p. 69. The chair is reproduced by Tsiknopoullos, *Enkleistra*, fig. 72. Cf. *infra*, notes 87, 131.

governor.⁵⁷ D. G. Hogarth, who visited the monastery in 1888, reports that it had "suffered severely after the Greek rising . . . its books were burnt, and its frescoes defaced; but the offerings of the faithful in Greece and Russia have sufficed to restore the fabric."⁵⁸

TOPOGRAPHY OF THE ENKLEISTRA COMPLEX

The troglodytic community which Neophytos left on his death was disposed on several levels of a cliff face. The ravine at the foot of the cliff was originally much deeper. It began to fill up when the cells were excavated (from 1170 onward), as a result of which the stream changed its course. The vegetable garden of the monastery was situated in the ravine and was liable to flooding after heavy rainfall.⁵⁹ The level of the ravine has naturally continued to rise: when he had his famous accident in 1197, Neophytos calculated, as we have seen, that he might have fallen 18 fathom, i.e., about 32 m.; today he would have fallen barely 13 m. before hitting the ground. Continuous erosion of the soft cliff has also led to the collapse of several cells which have either totally disappeared or have remained as shallow cavities.

After crossing the stone bridge one ascends a flight of twenty-three steps (height 4.75 m.) to a narrow terrace onto which the main structures of the Enkleistra open. At one time this terrace was covered with a wooden veranda to protect visitors from falling rocks.⁶⁰ At the south end of the terrace is a barrel-vaulted loggia which serves as a kind of narthex. This gives access to the original church, or Naos, dedicated to the Holy Cross. An iconostasis separates the Naos from the Bema, and the Bema in turn communicates with the Cell or Enkleistra proper which contains the Saint's tomb. Coming back to the terrace through the outer door of the Cell and proceeding northward, one sees first two blind arches of Frankish design (fig. 5).⁶¹ Next comes a large room which, as we shall try to show, served as the Refectory. Here the cliff face turns at an obtuse angle and the terrace comes to an end. Separated from the Refectory by a thin wall of natural rock is a cavity on the same level; directly underneath the latter is a further cavity seen on the right of figure 3.

The narthex has an upper chamber which, as we shall see, served as the sacristy. To the south of the narthex are the remains of two cells, one of them

⁵⁷ Hadjiioannou, p. 10; Tsiknopoullos, "Αγ. Νεόφυτος, p. 73 ff.

⁵⁸ *Devia Cypria* (Oxford, 1889), p. 22.

⁵⁹ *Typikon*, fol. 44, p. 21.

⁶⁰ Hadjiioannou, p. 68. Old exterior photographs of the Enkleistra show a row of putlog holes, evidently meant for the beams that supported the roof of the veranda: Hogarth, *Devia Cypria*, pl. facing p. 22; Soteriou, *Μνημεία*, pl. 55.

⁶¹ The chevron surround of the southern arch (which is all that is now visible: cf. fig. 4) has a deceptively Norman appearance. There are similar examples in Cyprus dating from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century: see C. Enlart, *L'art gothique et la Renaissance en Chypre* (Paris, 1899), I, pp. 229, 363, 389 and figs. 258, 259; II, pp. 536 and fig. 335, 555 and fig. 351, 636 and fig. 383. Arches of this kind continued, however, to be made in Cyprus until the end of the eighteenth century, as shown, e.g., by the north portal of the Chrysorrogiatissa church dating from 1770: reproduced by Tsiknopoullos, *Παναγία ἡ Χρυσορρωγιτίσσα* (Nicosia, 1964-65), p. 123. After removing part of the fill of the south arch, we found that the back wall of the niche was plastered and covered with graffiti. The two niches may have been used for exhibiting icons.

equipped with a cupboard (fig. 6). A modern spiral staircase leads to the roof of the sacristy, next to which an opening gives access to a tiny room situated over the Naos. From this room Neophytos was able, after 1197, to follow the services held in the church. Above this room are the remains of a cell with a couch constructed of stones (fig. 117): this is the New Zion, the cell which, as we have said, Neophytos excavated in 1197 in order to withdraw himself from the influx of visitors. From the roof of the sacristy a narrow path leads in a northerly direction to another cell discovered in 1953⁶² and now enclosed by a modern masonry wall: its door may be seen in figure 3 above the Frankish arches. This, we believe, was the Cave of St. John the Baptist.

The identification of these various spaces is based on the testimony of Neophytos himself. No doubt whatever attaches to the Naos, the Bema, or the original Enkleistra; it is, on the other hand, necessary to justify our localization of the Refectory and the Cave of St. John the Baptist since in the past the evidence has been interpreted differently.⁶³

The first space to have been excavated, between September 1159 and September 1160, was the original Enkleistra including the tomb. The Bema presumably dates from the same period, in view of Neophytos' statement that he simultaneously "set up an altar for divine service so as not to be sundered from the holy communion of the body and blood of Christ."⁶⁴ Neophytos himself had no wish to engage in further building, and for the first eleven years of his confinement, i.e., until 1170, he was satisfied with a small enclosure along the edge of the cliff (καὶ τι μικρὸν τριγχιὸν ἐκ προσιμίων δομησάμενος κατὰ τὸ ἀκρόκρημνον, αὐτὸ καὶ μόνον ἦν ἕως ἑνδεκά χρόνους).⁶⁵ From 1170 onward, as we have seen, "the structures of the Enkleistra began to be extended and adorned, and the whole length of the cliff was excavated for the erection of cells."⁶⁶ The Naos was not hewn out until 1183.

The buildings put up after 1170 are described by Neophytos in the following passage: "At some distance from the Enkleistra we laboriously set up a big gate provided with seats and benches that afforded an adequate resting place. Having ascertained, however, that some mischief and pollution had taken place therein, I said, 'What was yesterday a place of repose has become a cause of perdition,' and I requested the brethren to demolish it to its foundations and to build at some distance farther up another gate, but to provide it neither with a broad roof nor with seats; which gate subsists until this day [1214] free from any mischief. Then there are the bakery, the kitchen, the

⁶² See *Annual Report of the Director of Antiquities for the Year 1953* (Nicosia, 1954), p. 13, No. 33.

⁶³ The space which we regard as the Refectory is called the Cave of St. John the Baptist by Hadji-ioannou, pp. 42, 70; Indianos and Thomson, p. 156; Tsiknopoullos, "Αγ. Νεόφυτος, p. 123 f.; *id.*, *Enkleistra*, p. 38. The upper chamber which we consider to have been the Cave of St. John the Baptist is identified by Tsiknopoullos, "Αγ. Νεόφυτος, p. 46f., *Enkleistra*, p. 41, as the cell of Esaias. Such a cell is not, however, mentioned in any documentary source.

⁶⁴ *Typikon*, chap. 5, p. 8. The service must have been performed by a visiting priest since Neophytos had not yet been ordained.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 47^v, p. 22. On the meaning of τριγχιὸν (= θριγκίον), see A. J. Festugière, *Antioche païenne et chrétienne* (Paris, 1959), p. 295 note 2, p. 393 note 1.

⁶⁶ *Typikon*, chap. 5, p. 9.

storehouse with its upper storey for putting away produce, and sundry cells of which two are in the garden, and likewise the cells by the fountain,⁶⁷ the lower floor of which is for stabling animals and storing hay, while the upper floor is for habitation; then the *oikonomeion* and, above it, the terrace with its five arches (τὸ ἄνωθεν αὐτοῦ ἡλιακὸν πεντακάμαρον), and within these arches the refectory for meals (τράπεζα τοῦ ἀρίστου) which has been carved out of the cliff; then the narthex and its upper storey which is the *skevophylakion*; and, above the latter, the room for my sanctification and holy attendance (ἁγιαστήριον ἐμοὶ καὶ ἱερὸν ἀκροατήριον) wherein I am hallowed by partaking of Christ's sacraments and by the chanting of holy hymns. And furthermore, above the aforementioned *hagiasterion* is the new Enkleistra, that is the New Zion, a work abounding in God's providence; and another cell carved out of the rock which is called the cell of the Forerunner. And then again, the great structure which was built with much labor over [literally 'in'] the torrent, having many arches. Upon these arches, if and when God so wills it, there shall be built another church in the name of the holy, consubstantial, and life-giving Trinity. In the absence of funds for expenditure, I neither advise you nor urge you to begin this construction lest, through lack of the necessities, you become subservient to others and importune them; unless the rich hand of an emperor is extended to you by God's guidance or the assistance of some nobleman is providentially forthcoming: since holy works of such magnitude have need of very great expenditure. If, however, such assistance is not available and you are lacking in means, you shall be satisfied with the church of the true and most-holy Cross which I have myself hewn out of the cliff."⁶⁸

Many buildings enumerated in this passage have since disappeared. The gateway of the monastery,⁶⁹ the kitchen, the bakery, the various pens for stabling cattle, the stores for produce and hay, the *oikonomeion*, even the great arched foundation adjoining or perhaps spanning the torrent have all been swept away. When, at length, the *katholikon* was built, a different site was chosen for it and it was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, not to the Holy Trinity. Several of the structures mentioned in the above passage are, on the other hand, readily identifiable. The narthex does, in fact, have an upper chamber which, though partly altered, must correspond to the *skevophylakion*. The tiny *hagiasterion*, which communicates with the Naos by means of an orifice in its floor, does lie next to and a little above, the *skevophylakion* (fig. D). Directly above this are the remains of the New Zion. Two of the monks'

⁶⁷ Perhaps corresponding to the *hagiasma* which today forms an underground chamber next to the stone bridge: see Tsiknopoullos, "Αγ. Νεόφυτος, p. 94. Hogarth, *Devia Cypria*, p. 22, reports a tradition that the Virgin Mary had appeared to Neophytos at this spring. The chamber of the *hagiasma* is modern and offers nothing worthy of note.

⁶⁸ *Typikon*, fols. 48^r-50^v, p. 22 f.

⁶⁹ This is perhaps the gate shown by Barskij (our fig. 2, left-hand side). Mrs. [E. A. M.] Lewis, *A Lady's Impressions of Cyprus in 1893* (London, 1894), p. 160, speaks of having "approached the ancient rock-shrine of the Saint through a Gothic archway, so low as to oblige us to stoop on the saddle." Hadjiioannou, p. 9, reports that in his days some workmen had found the original gate of the monastery which was built of large stone blocks decorated with crosses. These blocks were either discarded or used for the construction of retaining walls. Hadjiioannou does not specify the location of this gate.

cells, excavated after 1170, are partly preserved to the south of the narthex. As for the *heliakon*, this must, in our opinion, correspond to the existing terrace which consequently had five arches, more or less as it has been restored by the Department of Antiquities (fig. 4). The retaining wall of the terrace is relatively modern and probably masks the original *oikonomeion*. Since the Refectory was "within" the arches, it could only have been on the level of the terrace. The rock-hewn structure which we regard as the Refectory is admirably suited for this purpose and large enough to have accommodated the entire monastic community: in fact, it is the largest of all the surviving spaces of the Enkleistra complex.

There remains the Cave of St. John the Baptist which, in the *Typikon*, is coupled with the New Zion as being above the *hagiasterion* (καὶ πάλιν, ἐπάνωθεν τοῦ ρηθέντος ἀγιαστηρίου, ἡ καινότερα ἐγκλείστρα Νέα Σιών... καὶ ἕτερον κελλίον τὸ ἐπονομασθὲν τοῦ Προδρόμου ἐν τῷ κρημνῷ λαξευτόν).⁷⁰ A fuller account of this Cave is given in Neophytos' letter to his brother John, where it is made clear that it formed a kind of an awkward corner at the north end of the cliff, evidently on the same high level as the New Zion. These indications correspond perfectly with the chamber above the Refectory. The excavation of this Cave was started on June 24 (the birthday of St. John the Baptist), 1197. In the course of the work two inscribed stones were found: the first bore the signs K+X which were interpreted as meaning Κυρίου χεῖρ, the second the letters Π, evidently the initials of Ἰωάννης ὁ Πρόδρομος. These stones were placed in the retaining wall of the chamber which was then plastered over and decorated with a portrait of the Baptist (ὁ χαρακτήρ ἐνιστορήθη τρανῶς). A copy of the two inscriptions was put up in the cave at the spot where they had been found.⁷¹ The original outer wall of the cave disappeared long ago⁷² and with it the portrait of St. John the Baptist.

DESCRIPTION OF THE WALL PAINTINGS⁷³

It should be noted that all the Greek inscriptions are reproduced by us exactly as we saw them. The absence of accents and breathings may in some cases be due to loss of paint. The end of each verse is indicated by a vertical line (|); a double vertical line (||) means that an inscription continues on the other side of a figure. While shockingly illiterate, the inscriptions of the Enkleistra are of interest for the dialectal forms they contain.⁷⁴

The dimensions of the various compositions are given exclusive of the red borders. All the backgrounds, unless otherwise indicated, are painted blue.

⁷⁰ *Typikon*, fol. 49^v, p. 23.

⁷¹ Kyprianos, *Διάταξις*, p. 49.

⁷² After 1735, since it is shown on Barskij's drawing (our fig. 2).

⁷³ More or less detailed descriptions of the paintings have been published by Indianos and Thomson, and by Tsiknopoullos, "Αγ. Νεόφυτος, p. 96 ff.; *id.*, *Enkleistra*, p. 9 ff.

⁷⁴ Note especially the duplication of consonants, e.g., ἐκτρίψομεν for ἐκτρίψωμεν, ἀγριπνύσει for ἀγριπνήσει, σαλός for σαλός, etc. On this phenomenon, see, e.g., R. M. Dawkins's edition of Leontios Makhairas (Oxford, 1932), II, p. 36; A. A. Sakellariou, *Τὰ Κυπριακά*, II (Athens, 1891), p. λγ' f. The change of πτ to φθ, as in σεφθῶς for σεπτῶς (*infra*, p. 181), reflects a general trend in modern Greek.

I. THE NARTHEX⁷⁵

The narthex is in the form of an open porch and is covered with a barrel vault running east to west.⁷⁶ It is trapezoid in plan and is today entered by a door in its north wall which opens onto the terrace. Half of the thickness of this door is covered with an arch, the other half with a flat lintel. There is a corresponding door in the south wall which gave access to the cells farther south in the face of the cliff.⁷⁷ There is, furthermore, a niche in the southwest corner of the narthex, topped by a half arch. This was partially opened in the course of our work, revealing fragmentary frescoes (shown on the left side of fig. 7).

Above the narthex is a small chamber which served as the *skevophylakion*. It is nearly square⁷⁸ and is covered with a stone dome rising at its apex to a height of 2.65 m. above the floor. The chamber has two rectangular windows, one opening into the Naos through the fresco of the Lamentation (figs. 16, 36), while the other is in the east wall, above the arch of the narthex (fig. 3). The former window provides today the only means of access to the chamber. The walls are bare save for a small patch of plaster painted blue in the southwest corner. The concrete floor was laid in 1950.⁷⁹

The narthex and *skevophylakion* have not come down to us in their original form. Neophytos informs us that he set up in the narthex a written prohibition (ἀφορισμός) debarring anyone who had fallen into sin from remaining in the monastery.⁸⁰ This prohibition has disappeared along with the original decoration of the narthex, the surviving frescoes being manifestly post-Byzantine. As we shall see presently, the barrel vault of the narthex is contemporary with the existing frescoes;⁸¹ prior to that the narthex was covered with a flat timber roof, the remains of which are still plainly visible in the *skevophylakion*, 0.52 m. above the present concrete floor.⁸² It follows from this that the window linking the *skevophylakion* to the Naos (the sill of which is level with the concrete floor) cannot be original. There must have existed, of course, some normal means of access to the *skevophylakion* from a higher level, but all trace of it disappeared when the chamber was remodelled.

⁷⁵ The paintings of the narthex have not been restored by us.

⁷⁶ The barrel vault was consolidated in 1949–50 by means of a concealed reinforced tie: *Annual Report of the Director of Antiquities for the Year 1949* (Nicosia, 1950), p. 13, No. 23; *Annual Report... for the Year 1950* (Nicosia, 1951), p. 12, No. 34.

⁷⁷ In 1963 we found this door blocked up and have accordingly indicated it by means of dotted lines on figure D. It has subsequently been opened by the Department of Antiquities and found to have an arched top with small fragments of painted ornament in the reveal of the arch. Originally the arch was closed by a semicircular window resting on a horizontal lintel.

⁷⁸ Its dimensions are as follows: north wall 2.20 m., east wall 2.49, south wall 2.50, west wall 2.28.

⁷⁹ *Annual Report... for the Year 1950*, p. 12, No. 34.

⁸⁰ *Typikon*, fol. 32^r, p. 16.

⁸¹ Hadjiioannou, p. 68, as well as Indianos and Thomson, p. 157, are mistaken in affirming that the vault is later than the extant frescoes of the narthex.

⁸² Originally, the floor of the *skevophylakion* was carried on transverse wooden beams laid from north to south. One beam remains intact close to the inner face of the east wall, while the sawn off end of another beam (the one that was closest to the west wall) juts out from the south wall of the *skevophylakion*.

The surviving frescoes of the narthex comprise a row of full-length saints at man's height and an Annunciation in the lunette above the door leading into the Naos (fig. 7). The *Annunciation*⁸³ (maximum width at the base 2.55 m., height in the centre 0.80 m.) is divided into two halves by a parabolic window placed above the entrance door. In the reveal of the window is a chevron design painted in black over parallel bands of green and yellow.⁸⁴ The stucco grille pierced by three bull's eyes may well go back to the time of Neophytos.⁸⁵

On the left of the composition, Gabriel, wearing a grey tunic and a red-brown chlamys, both high-lighted with yellow ochre accents, steps briskly forward on a strip of green ground. His right hand is outstretched in blessing, while the left holds a staff. On the right, the Virgin is seated on a yellow throne with a curved back. On the seat of the throne lies a red-brown bolster. The Virgin, whose head and right hand have been destroyed, wears a grey tunic and a red-brown *maphorion* decorated with a yellow tasselled fringe and stars on her shoulders. She holds a spindle in her left hand and rests her feet on a yellow semicircular footstool. To the right of the Virgin a young servant girl sits on a low semicircular stool. She wears a grey tunic with a yellow collar and yellow bands on the sleeves. Her mantle, also grey but with purple-red and black shadows, is draped over her legs. While turning round to look at the angel, she is rotating a distaff with her left hand and winding up the yarn on a spindle which she holds in her right hand.

The backdrop is formed by a two-tone wall having a grey zone below and a pink zone above. The grey zone is decorated with two bands of stepped design drawn at a slanting angle to denote projection, and between these bands are a number of other motifs such as vertical slits, a lion's mask and a floral pattern. To the left of the Virgin's throne the grey zone of the wall forms a projecting table upon which is placed a yellow vase containing a green shrub. In the right half of the composition, the grey zone of the wall supports a row of little columns, alternately red and green. Behind Gabriel, the pink zone of the wall is surmounted by a barrel-vaulted loggia. To the right of the window was painted an edicule of which there survives only one corner column painted red. The background is dark grey.

Indianos and Thomson⁸⁶ claim to have seen "underneath the Annunciation a previous painting . . . which went above the arc of the present barrel-vault." As far as we could judge, however, such a painting does not exist. A probe made by us (fig. 12) has shown that the plaster rendering on which the Annunciation is painted extends about 0.20 m. above the arc of the barrel vault, but it is unfrescoed except for a horizontal extension of the red border and a number of grey brushstrokes of the same color as the background of the

⁸³ The photograph reproduced by Soteriou, Μνημεία, pl. 65a, shows the painting nearly complete. The Virgin's head and the edicule behind her have since disappeared.

⁸⁴ A similar use of parallel green and yellow bands may be seen in the apse of the *katholikon*, in the long inscription underneath the Communion of the Apostles.

⁸⁵ It is similar in construction to the window that opens through the Crucifixion of the Naos (fig. 32) as well as the one in the Ascension of the Bema (fig. 61), both of which appear to be original. The later windows, such as the one above the altar-table of the Bema (fig. 69) have a lattice grille.

⁸⁶ P. 158.

Annunciation. In other words, the plaster rendering was laid before the barrel vault was built, but these two operations must have formed part of the same program since the Annunciation was clearly meant to be framed by the existing vault. We have found no trace of an earlier painting.

The lower zone of frescoes extends on either side of the door leading into the Naos. This door has a carved surround, probably work of the year 1796.⁸⁷ The first figure to the right of the door is *St. Paul*, 1.30 m. high excluding the halo (fig. 9). His eyes have been scratched out and the figure covered with graffiti, among which one can make out the dates 1624 (1694?) over the waist and 1714 under the left foot. The Apostle stands on a zone of red ground reaching up to his knees, the rest of the background being light green up to the waist and grey above that. The same applies to the companion figures of *St. Sabas* and *St. Peter*. Paul has, as usual, a bulbous forehead, sparse, brown hair, and a curly beard. He is dressed in a deep red chlamys and a light grey tunic which has a yellow clavus. He blesses with his right hand and holds a book with a decorated yellow binding in his left.

In the same panel as *St. Paul* stands *St. Sabas* identified by the inscription ὁ ἅγ(ιος) | Σάββας || ο ἡγ(ια)σ|μένος. The eyes, once more, have been scratched out. The Saint has a bulbous forehead, white hair and a parted beard. He wears a yellow ochre tunic, a grey scapular, and a pale yellowish-grey mantle clasped over the breast. The cords used for pulling on the mantle hang loose over the thighs. There are several red candle-burns on the ochre tunic. With both hands the Saint holds an unfolded scroll inscribed: ὡς περ τὸ ὕ|χθειν εν τῇ θα|λάσῃ ζωογο|νῆται ἐπὶ τῇ ξηρᾷ | δὲ τελευτᾷ, οὕτω κ(αὶ) | ὁ μοναχὸς ὁ πε|ριπατ(ῶν), ἐνθ(εν) κακίθ(εν). That is: "As the fish remains alive in the sea while it dies on dry land, so it is with the monk who wanders hither and thither."⁸⁸

Below these two figures, and surely below that of *St. Peter* on the other side of the door, there was originally a dado painted to imitate marble to a height of 0.53 m. above the floor.

To the right of *St. Sabas*, on the north wall of the narthex, is the badly mutilated figure of *St. Nicholas*, inscribed to the left of the halo Νικό[λαος] (fig. 11). This figure stands 0.15 m. lower than the others.⁸⁹ The face has almost completely disappeared except for the short beard. Over a deep red *phainolion* the Saint wears a white *omophorion* decorated with black crosses. The cuff of

⁸⁷ The carving of the door frame is similar to that of the abbot's chair dated 1796 (*supra*, note 56) as well as that of the iconostasis (figs. 50, 51 and *infra*, note 131). Soteriou, *Μνημεῖα*, caption of pl. 65a, suggests that the door frame may date from the repairs of 1779, but the repairs in question appear to have been limited to the *katholikon* (*supra*, p. 131).

⁸⁸ In the church of the Anargyroi at Kastoria a similar text accompanies a representation of *St. Antony*: ὡς περ οἱ ἰχθύες ἐγχορνίζοντες τῇ ξηρᾷ (sic) τελευτῶσιν, οὕτω καὶ οἱ μοναχοὶ βραδύνοντες ἔξω τοῦ κελίου (sic). See A. Orlandos, 'Ἀρχαῖον τῶν βυζαντ. μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος, IV (1938), p. 50; S. Pelekanides, *Καστορία*, I (Thessaloniki, 1953), pl. 29a. Cf. also P. Possinus, *Thesaurus asceticus* (Paris, 1684), p. 228.

⁸⁹ The head of *St. Nicholas* comes above the springing of the barrel vault and consequently curves slightly forward, thus showing that this painting was made after the vault had been built. The wall upon which this figure is painted appears to have been doubled in thickness in preparation for the construction of the vault: this would explain the fact that half the thickness of the door is covered with an arch, half with a flat lintel. This has already been noticed by Indianos and Thomson, p. 157.

the right hand and the *hypogonation* are yellow ochre, decorated with pearls and vermiculation. Nicholas blesses with his right hand and holds a Gospel book in his covered left hand. The yellow binding of the book is adorned with precious stones and pearls. The background, once again, is grey down to the hips and green below.

To the left of the door stands *St. Peter* (fig. 8) enclosed in a narrow panel (height of figure excluding halo 1.26 m.). The eyes, the lower part of the face and most of the bottom part of the figure have been destroyed. Of the inscription only the words $\delta \acute{\alpha}\gamma(\iota\omicron\varsigma)$ remain on the left side. Peter has, as usual, grey hair and a short beard. The feet are missing, except for the toes of the left foot. Peter wears a grey tunic and a yellow ochre chlamys marked with candle-burns. He blesses with his right hand, while in his left he holds a white scroll as well as a ring with two keys hanging from it.

To the left of St. Peter is the mutilated figure of *St. Gregory Theologos* (fig. 10).⁹⁰ The greater part of this figure, to a width of 0.55 m., extends into the niche to which we have already alluded and was therefore invisible prior to 1963. The Saint, who stands a little lower than St. Peter, is contained in an arched panel, the spandrels of the arch being filled with green foliage. The inscription reads $\delta \alpha(\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma) | \Gamma\rho\eta\gamma\acute{o}\rho\eta\omicron\varsigma || [\delta \Theta]\epsilon\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$. The background is slate-grey in the portion that was blocked up, showing that the lighter grey background of the exposed frescoes of the narthex is due to fading. Gregory has a bulbous forehead, sparse, grey hair, and a full beard that widens out towards the bottom. His eyes have been scratched out. He wears a black and white *polystavrion* and an *omophorion* decorated with red crosses. The right hand is raised in blessing, while the left holds a Gospel book, its cover ornamented with pearls and a Maltese cross made of green stones.

Facing St. Gregory on the reveal of the niche is another mutilated figure of a bishop, probably St. Gregory of Nyssa, judging by the shape of his beard (fig. 13). The figure is contained in an arched panel 0.48 m. wide. The Saint, whose eyes had been scratched out and later patched with plaster, has a bulbous forehead, brown hair, and a long pointed beard. He wears a black and white *polystavrion*, an *omophorion* decorated with red crosses, and a yellow ochre *hypogonation* sewn with pearls. The cuff on the right wrist is also yellow ochre and decorated with pearls. The Saint holds his blessing right hand in front of his breast, while his left, which is covered, supports a Gospel book, its cover set with pearls and rectangular as well as heart-shaped stones.

It is rather surprising that the lunette above the entrance door should be occupied by the Annunciation, since this space was usually reserved for the celestial patron whose name a church bore. Perhaps the artist was influenced by the fact that the *katholikon* was dedicated to the Virgin Mary and chose to forget that the Naos of the Enkleistra was named after the Holy Cross.

⁹⁰ Incorrectly identified in the past as St. John the Evangelist: Hadjiioannou, p. 68; Indianos and Thomson, p. 158; Tsiknopoullos, "Αγ. Νεόφυτος, p. 99.

2. THE NAOS

The Naos, which is divided from the Bema by a wooden iconostasis, forms a more or less trapezoid shape 5.40 m. long on its longitudinal axis and having a maximum width at its north end of 3.65 m. In the northeast corner the outer wall forms a recess which was intended, as we shall see, to house a reliquary of the True Cross. The outer wall is built of irregular stones while the rest of the Naos, including the ceiling, has been hollowed out of natural rock. There is a deep alcove in the northeast corner and another one at the south end of the east wall; the latter is divided by a shelf into two spaces. The ceiling, which is rather uneven, slopes up from west to east and rises to two pinnacles: one, 4.30 m. high, more or less in the middle of the east side of the Naos, is occupied by the picture of the Ascension; the other, 4.27 m. high, rises above the recess of the True Cross and contains figures of prophets. In addition to these subjects, the decoration of the Naos comprises a Passion cycle in the middle zone and a row of standing saints in the lower zone (figs. 14–16). Underneath the latter there was originally a painted dado.

The decoration is original except for a restoration carried out in 1502/3 and dated by an inscription in the southwest corner of the Naos (fig. 17). The inscription is contained in a panel (height 0.40 m., length at the top 1.51) and reads as follows:

+ ἐλαξέυθη, οἰκοδωμίθη, κ(αὶ) ἱστωρογραφίθη ὁ πάνσεπτος ναὸς τοῦ τιμίου κ(αὶ) ζωοπιου
στ(αυ)ροῦ, διὰ συνδρομῆς | κ(αὶ) πολλοῦ κόπου τοῦ ὁσίου κ(αὶ) θεοφόρου π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ημῶν
Νεοφύτου, ἐν τῷ ςψδ' ἔτι τοῦ Ἀδάμ: ἐν δὲ τῷ ζια' ἔτι, | ἀνεκενίσθη τὸ παρὸν τεμμάχιον
τῆς ἱστορογραφίας κ(αὶ) ἕτερα πολλὰ κόσμια κ(αὶ) χριώδη ἐν τῷ παν|σέπτω ναῷ τότε, διὰ
σῆνδρομῆς κ(αὶ) ἐξώδου κ(αὶ) πολλοῦ πώθου τοῦ εὐτελοῦς | καὶ ταπινου μοναχοῦ κυροῦ
Νεοφύτου εὐχεσθαι αὐτῷ ἀμήν. That is: "The most-holy church of the venerable
and life-giving Cross was hewn out, built, and painted by the initiative and
great toil of our holy and God-inspired father Neophytos in the year 6704
from Adam; and in the year 7011 this portion of the painting was restored as
well as many other ornamental and necessary things in this most-holy church
by the initiative, at the expense and through the great zeal of the lowly and
humble monk, the master Neophytos. Pray for him. Amen."⁹¹

Below the inscription is a band of interlace consisting of red, green, and yellow ribbons.

The part of the decoration that was renewed includes the Hospitality of Abraham on the south wall, the first two scenes of the Passion cycle, viz., the Last Supper and the Washing of the Feet, the lower right corner of the Agony, a small patch in the lower left corner of the Betrayal, and the group of apostles, now largely destroyed, on the south side of the Ascension. We shall comment later on the significance of the inscription.⁹²

⁹¹ Cf. W. H. Buckler and G. Buckler in *Ann. de l'Inst. de Phil. et d'Hist. Orient. et Slaves*, VII (1944), p. 52 ff.; A. and J. Stylianos in *Jahrb. d. Österr. Byzant. Gesellschaft*, IX (1960), p. 100. Hadjiioannou, p. 71 f., misread the date 6704 as 6701.

⁹² *Infra*, p. 200.

The *Ascension* (figs. 18–21, 23) occupies what may be described as the dome of the Naos and is more or less elliptical in shape. At its apex is a shaft which opens through the ceiling into the *hagiasterion* situated above the Naos. The shaft is 1.07 m. high and measures 0.48×0.43 m. at the top. The sides of it are carefully constructed and frescoed with a design that is used extensively throughout the Enkleistra, viz., double diagonal lines alternating with red zigzags (fig. 22).^{92a} The shaft used to be blocked up with stones and was opened in the course of our work (the photograph reproduced in fig. 20 was taken prior to its opening). It has an important bearing on the date of the Naos decoration, as will be shown in due course.⁹³

Figure 18 shows the Ascension from the visitor's normal viewpoint. The iconography is quite similar to that of the better preserved Ascension of the Bema (fig. 61), but owing to the irregular shape of the ceiling, the disposition of the figures is awkward, and it is, in fact, impossible to gain a proper view of them from one spot. About half of the composition has disappeared, including the ascending Christ and the south group of standing apostles: of the latter only five feet are faintly visible, and these belong to the repair of 1503. The figure of Christ, if it was to be seen right side up from the middle of the Naos, can be accommodated only by supposing that the upper part of it projected into the shaft as shown in our reconstruction (fig. 19). Christ would thus have been painted on the vertical surface of the wall, while his head inclined slightly forward.⁹⁴ His mandorla, which has a scalloped edge, must have been upheld by four flying angels, but only two are in part preserved, and both of them have lost their faces. Their wings, for lack of space, interfere with the apostles' haloes. The surviving wing of the upper angel—only his bust shows above the edge of the mandorla—is speckled with red and white dots, that of the lower angel with only white dots. The haloes of the angels were gilded.

The figures witnessing the Ascension can be properly seen only by pressing oneself against the east wall of the Naos and looking up (figs. 20, 21). The archangel who stood in the middle has been destroyed except for a small part of his left wing. Next to him is a much mutilated figure of the Virgin Mary raising both hands towards the ascending Christ. She wears a blue tunic and a purple *maphorion* decorated with a double white border and crosslets made of dots. Her halo, too, was gilded. Her red shoes overlap the lower border of the composition.

Behind the Virgin is a group of six apostles, the height of the figures being about 0.85 m. excluding the haloes. The plane of the ceiling changes to rise more steeply at the height of the apostles' knees, an irregularity which the painter has apparently tried to minimize by making the color of each apostle's chlamys darker below the bulge and lighter above it. He has not, however,

^{92a} A similar design occurs in the church of St. George at Staraja Ladoga (ca. 1167): V. N. Lazarev, *Freski Staroj Ladogi* (Moscow, 1960), figs. 71, 72.

⁹³ *Infra*, p. 200.

⁹⁴ The east side of the shaft, upon which we suppose the figure of Christ to have been in part painted, seems to have suffered some loss of plaster in its lower portion, and thus a change in its original profile.

succeeded in doing so, and the prominent high lights he has placed on the apostles' knees only accentuate the impression that the figures are bent over backwards. The group is headed by St. Peter whose destroyed right hand was raised to shield his eyes. In his left hand he holds a scroll. He has, as usual, white hair and a short beard, and wears a pink-grey tunic and a light grey-green chlamys shaded to purple-grey. Next comes St. Andrew recognizable by his shaggy, white hair and beard. He looks away from the Virgin, with his right hand raised to the breast, palm outward, while holding a scroll in his left. He wears a light grey tunic with a double red stripe, and a chlamys that is pink-grey in its lighter parts and brown with yellow ochre accents in its darker parts. Next comes St. Luke with curly brown hair, moustache, and a sparse beard. His right hand is raised like St. Andrew's, while his left holds a Gospel book, its ochre cover decorated with a diaper pattern in pearls. He wears a pink-grey tunic and a brown chlamys with yellow high lights in the lighter portion and pale brown high lights in the darker portion. The fourth apostle (St. James?) has wavy brown hair and a beard terminating in two points. His right hand is raised to eye level, while the left holds a scroll. He is dressed in a light grey-green tunic with a double red clavus. His chlamys is pink-grey in its lighter portion and purple with blue accents in the darker portion. The fifth apostle resembles St. Luke in the Bema Ascension (cf. fig. 65), although the facial type is usually associated with St. Simon. He is partly hidden by the fourth and sixth apostles so that neither of his hands is shown. He is almost bald and has a rounded, brown beard. His tunic is pink-grey and has a double red clavus; the chlamys is light grey-green in the lighter areas and purple with red accents in the darker ones. Last comes a youthful apostle (Thomas or Philip) who raises his right hand to shield his eyes and holds a scroll in his left. He has straight, brown hair. His tunic is grey with a double red stripe, while the chlamys is in part pink-grey, in part purple.

The entire group of apostles is contained within the outline of a "laminated" hill which is painted a faded red color. To the right of the hill grows a small tree, trefoil in shape, with red berries amidst the foliage and red flowers with white petals sprouting from the base of the trunk. To the left of the Virgin is the straight trunk of another tree which, owing to loss of surface paint, terminates a little above the green ground, thus appearing to hang in mid air. Directly underneath this tree is a bird's-nest surrounded by red flowers (fig. 23).⁹⁵ Two young birds are in the nest facing in opposite directions. The one on the right is receiving food from the beak of the mother bird which stands with wings outstretched. Another bird walks away to the left with raised wings.

Above the heads of Peter and Andrew are faint traces of an inscription in "ghost" letters which seem to pertain to the usual text from Acts 1:11: [ἄνδρες Γαλιλαῖοι, τί ἐστήκατε βλέποντες εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν] [οὗ]τος ὁ [Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἀ]ναλ[ηφθεῖς] ἀ[φ'] ὑμῶν, etc.]⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Indianos and Thomson, p. 178, are mistaken in stating that the bird nest pertains to the repair of 1503.

⁹⁶ Indianos and Thomson, *loc. cit.*, have read the word OYPANON.

The *Prophets* (fig. 24). Four prophets are represented in the pinnacle of the ceiling above the recess of the Holy Cross, wedged between the Crucifixion and the Road to Calvary. Three of them (Moses, David, and Isaiah) are shown standing full length within a trapezoid panel measuring 1.50 m. in height and as much across. The height of the figures is about 1.10 m. excluding the haloes. Jeremiah is shown in half-figure within a separate panel below the three other prophets (maximum height of panel 0.63 m., maximum width 0.80).

Moses, identified by the inscription ὁ προφήτης Μωυσης, is beardless and has long, brown hair falling over his right shoulder. The halo preserves traces of gilding. He wears a grey chlamys and a pink tunic with a double black stripe. His right arm, now mostly destroyed, was raised; in his left hand he holds a scroll inscribed: + ὄψεσθαι | την ζωὴν ἡμῶν κρεμυμένην | ὁπέναντη τῶν | ὀφθαλμ(ῶν) ἡμῶν (adapted from Deut. 28:66), that is, "Ye shall see your Life hanging before your eyes."⁹⁷ The feet are placed too close together in the same clumsy stance as St. John's in the Crucifixion (fig. 32).

In the middle of the panel stands David, inscribed ὁ προφήτης || Δα(υί)δ. He has wavy, white hair and a short beard and is dressed in imperial vestments. On his head he wears a jewelled crown having clusters of pearls affixed to its upper edge and *perpendulia* also terminating in clusters of pearls. His red tunic has a broad collar decorated with a diaper pattern and outlined with two rows of pearls. The cuff on the right wrist is similarly ornamented. The lower hem is set with square, red and blue stones and with pearls, the red shoes with rosettes of pearls. The blue chlamys is clasped over the breast with a jewelled fibula. David blesses with his right hand and holds in his left a scroll inscribed: + ἡργάσατο | σωτηρίαν | ἐν μέσο τῆς | γῆς. σὺ ἐκρα|τέοσας ἐν τῇ | δυνάμει σου την | θαλασσαν (Ps. 73:12-13), that is, "He worked salvation in the midst of the earth. Thou didst rule the sea in Thy might."

Isaiah, inscribed ὁ προφήτης Ησαίας, has long, white hair falling over his left shoulder and a pointed beard. He wears a pink chlamys and a pale blue-grey tunic with a double red stripe. He holds his right hand against his breast, while in his left he grasps a scroll bearing the inscription: + αὐτὸς δὲ ἐ|τραυματήσθη | διὰ τας ἁμαρ|τι(ας) ἡμῶν· κ(αί) με|μαλάκησθ(αι) διὰ | τας ἀνομι(ας) ημ(ῶν) (Isa. 53:5), i.e., "He was wounded for our transgressions and was bruised for our iniquities."

Jeremiah, in half-figure, is inscribed ὁ προφήτης || Ἰερεμίας. His hair and beard are similar to Isaiah's. He is dressed in a light blue-grey tunic with a double red clavus and a chlamys of the same color. The halo is gilded. Jeremiah holds his left hand in front of his breast, while with his right he grasps a scroll with the following inscription: + δεῦτε κ(αί) | βάλομεν ξί|λον ἡς τον ἀ|ρτόν αὐτου· | κ(αί) ἐκτρίψομε(ν) (Jer. 11:19), i.e., "Come, let us put wood into his bread, and let us grind him off [from the land of the living]."

⁹⁷ This text refers specifically to the Crucifixion and is prescribed by the *Hermeneia*, pp. 81, 276. Moses holds the same text in the monastery of Chrysostomos at Koutsovendi: see *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 18 (1964), p. 339 and fig. 43.

The Passion cycle in the middle register of decoration begins in the south-west corner and makes the round of the church. The first two scenes, as we have said, date from the restoration of 1503 and obviously do not reproduce, except in subject matter, the originals they replace. The scenes are numbered on the upper frame by means of Greek numerals, some of which still survive.

The *Last Supper*⁹⁸ (height 1.47 m., maximum preserved width 1.40) is partly destroyed on the left (fig. 25). The inscription on the black background reads [ὁ δεῖπ]νος [ὁ μυσ]τικός. The foreground of the picture is occupied by a table, probably intended to be round, supported in front on four little arches painted yellow ochre. The table is covered with a red checkered cloth on which are placed three bowls containing small fish, two jugs and a beaker, eight loaves of bread with cruciform markings, five grey radishes or turnips, and two long knives. Christ is seated on a carved chair which seems to float in mid air. Only his legs and blessing right hand have been preserved. He wears a dark red tunic and a grey chlamys. Nine of the apostles and the shoulder of a tenth remain: they have no haloes. Judas appears to emerge from the lap of one of the bearded apostles on the far side of the table; bending forward, he reaches into a bowl of fish with his right hand, while his left is hidden in his sleeve. The two apostles in front appear to be sitting on top of the table. The one on the right, recognizable by his features and tonsure, is St. Luke. He, too, has his left hand hidden in his sleeve. The backdrop is formed by a pink two-storey Venetian palazzo with overhanging roof.

The *Washing of the Feet* (fig. 26) is 1.35 m. high on the right and 1.10 wide at the top. The title is inscribed between the tops of the two buildings in the background: ϧ νίπτη[ρ]. The action takes place on a pink floor or rug having a serrated edge in front. Christ, inscribed ἸϢ || ΧϢ above his cross-halo, stands on the left on some kind of mat or cushion. He is dressed in a deep red tunic with clavi and has a striped towel girded round his waist. The words he addresses to Peter are inscribed next to his blessing right hand: ἐὰν μὴ | νίψω σε, | οὐκ ἔχεις | μέρος μετε|μοῦ ("If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with me": John 13:8). Peter dips his right foot into an ornamented basin and, as usual, points his right hand to his head, above which are inscribed the words: κ(ύρι)ε μη | τους πο|δας μου μόνον | ἀλλὰ κ(αί) τὰς χεῖρας | κ(αί) τ(ήν) κεφαλήν ("Lord, not my feet only, but also my hands and my head:" John 13:9). The eleven other apostles are sitting or kneeling on the floor in the act of untying their sandals. Behind Christ's back is an ornamented jug with two handles. In the background are two pink buildings: on the left a two-storey barrel-vaulted structure with a star of David in the lunette, on the right a kind of Venetian palazzo with an awning stretched over one window and an overhanging roof.

The *Agony* (fig. 29)⁹⁹ is 1.55 m. high on the right and 1.37 on the left, 1.15 wide at the top and 1.52 at the bottom. The composition comprises two scenes: the front one, inscribed above Christ's head ἡ ραθυ|μία τ(ῶν)|ἀπο(στολών),

⁹⁸ For an old photograph of the Last Supper and the Washing of the Feet, see Hadjiioannou, after p. 192.

⁹⁹ Reproduced by Soteriou, *Μνημεῖα*, pl. 70b.

i.e., "The Negligence of the Apostles," represents Christ reproaching the apostles; the rear scene is inscribed η προσευχη, "The Prayer." On the top frame is the numeral Γ'. The bottom right corner, including Peter's right foot, the feet of the other four apostles in the front row, and Andrew's right hand, belong to the restoration of 1503, the boundary of the restored area being clearly visible.

In the rear scene Christ, inscribed ΙϞ || [X]Ϟ, is lying prostrate, both arms extended, on the side of a hill. He wears a purple tunic with a double red stripe. His chlamys and feet have peeled off, exposing the blue underpainting. The nimbus was struck twice, the first time a little too low, then raised to its present position. The field of the nimbus was originally gilded; the crossarms are white with diagonal X's drawn on them in wavy lines. Christ's prayer is inscribed in front of him over the green color of the hill: π(άτ)ερ ἡ δυνατόν ἐστίν | παρελθέτο ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τὸ | ποτήριον τοῦτο ("Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me": Matt. 26:39). Behind Christ, in the upper left corner of the panel, an angel appears in a cloud. He wears a grey tunic with a double red stripe and a pink chlamys. His arms are crossed; the right hand is extended in a gesture of speech, while the left holds a red staff, its tip decorated with pearls. The outside feathers of the wings are speckled with little circles. The halo was gilded. The rim of the cloud is white and light blue; the rest of it grey with a number of red stars and rosettes. To the right of the angel are traces of an inscription terminating in the letters . . . χ . . . αυτ.

In the front scene Christ, inscribed ΙϞ || XϞ, stands in a clumsy three-quarter pose, his right hand extended in a gesture of speech, his left holding a scroll. The cross in the nimbus is decorated with red and blue crosslets; the field of the nimbus was gilded. Christ wears a purple tunic with a red stripe over the right shoulder. The surface paint of the chlamys has flaked off revealing the blue underpainting. Christ steps on a band of green ground in which grow four flowering shrubs. Behind his back is a stylized tree with a flowering shrub on either side of the base of the trunk. The foliage of the tree is pear-shaped, with concentric lines hatched in white, pink, and blue on a black ground.^{99a} Two pendant "leaves," one on each side, are treated similarly. Christ's figure is enclosed by a pink-grey hillock. Above his extended right hand are the words of his reproach paraphrasing Matt. 26:40: ὥντος οὐκ ἡσχύ|σεται ἀγριππνύσει | καν μίαν ὥραν | μετεμου ("Verily, could ye not watch with me even one hour?").

The group of eleven sitting apostles is enclosed within the same hill on which Christ is praying in the rear scene. The front row consists of: *i.* St. Peter, supporting his chin on his right hand while resting his left hand on his left knee. He is dressed in a light blue tunic with double red stripes and in a grey-green chlamys. *ii.* An apostle (St. Mark?) with brown hair and short beard, his eyes closed in sleep. He is dressed (in the original portion) in a light grey-green tunic with a double red stripe and in a brown chlamys. *iii.* St. Andrew with white hair and pointed beard, his right hand extended (this

^{99a} Trees of similar shape appear in several Syriac manuscripts, e.g., B.M. Add. 7170 (A.D. 1216-1220). See J. Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques à peintures* (Paris, 1964), Album, pls. 81.3, 95.1.

hand is restored), his left holding a scroll. He wears a light blue tunic with a double red stripe and a pink chlamys. *iv*. St. Luke, distinguished by his lean face and divided beard, wears a pink tunic with a double black stripe and a brown chlamys. He holds up his right hand to his left shoulder, while he taps with his left the knee of the fifth apostle. The lower part of the figure, which pertains to the repair, is placed too far to the spectator's right; so it fails to connect properly with the upper part. *v*. A beardless, brown-haired apostle (Thomas or Philip), his eyes closed. He supports his head on his right hand, holding up his left, palm outwards. He wears a light blue tunic with a double red stripe and a light grey-green chlamys.

Back row: *vi*. A beardless apostle who must be St. John, brown-haired and heavy-jowled. His eyes—and the same applies to all the other apostles in the back row—are narrowed down to indicate drowsiness. He wears a light blue tunic with a double red stripe and a grey chlamys. *vii*. St. Matthew with white hair and pointed beard, wearing a pink chlamys and a light blue tunic with a double red stripe. *viii*. An apostle (St. Simon?) with receding brown hair and a short round beard, wearing a light grey-green chlamys and a light blue tunic with a double red clavus. He holds up his right hand, palm outwards, and grasps a scroll in his left. *ix*. An apostle (James?) with wavy brown hair and a divided beard. He wears a light blue tunic with a double red clavus and a pink chlamys. *x*. An apostle (Bartholomew?) with brown hair, moustache, and short growth of beard, holding up his left hand, palm outwards. His garment is light grey-green. *xi*. A youthful apostle (Philip or Thomas) with wavy brown hair. He is dressed in a light blue tunic with a double red clavus and in a pink chlamys. He holds up his right hand, palm outwards, and grasps a scroll in his left.

In the repair of 1503 no attempt was made to match the original colors of the apostles' garments. The haloes of the apostles do not seem to have been gilded.

The *Betrayal* (figs. 27–29) is painted on an inclined and bulging surface (height of panel 1.60 m.; width at the top 1.10, at the bottom 1.22). On the upper red frame is the numeral Δ'. Above Christ's head is the title ἡ προδοσία. The action gives the appearance of taking place in a deep gorge, between two hills, one reddish, the other grey, which serve to frame the two groups of soldiers who have come to arrest Christ. The subsidiary scene of Peter cutting off the servant's ear is also framed by a hillock. As usual, there is a strip of green ground running across the base of the composition.

Christ, inscribed ΙϞ || ΧϞ, stands in the middle, his right arm extended in the direction of the Peter scene, his left hand holding a scroll. His feet are not placed on solid ground: his left foot is over the pink hillock of the St. Peter scene, while the right foot overlaps Peter's figure. Christ is dressed in a blue chlamys and a purple tunic having a double red clavus. The halo was gilded; the crossarms are white, each containing an X in wavy red lines. A rope has already been thrown round Christ's shoulders and he is being pulled away by the soldier on the extreme right. Judas, beardless, with wavy brown hair, is shown, as usual, in profile. His face has been partly eroded. He wears a pink

chlamys and a grey tunic with a double red stripe. He kisses Christ on the cheek and puts both arms round his shoulders.

The group on the left is headed by a youthful man holding a knife in his left hand. Behind him is a group of soldiers: in all there are thirteen faces and, further back, rows of helmets. The soldiers are armed with knives, pole-axes, and spears. The tops of those weapons that protruded above the summit of the hill onto the blue background have flaked off. One soldier held a flaming torch that has also peeled off in large part. Most of the soldiers' faces are in profile; some are beardless, others have pointed beards and long moustaches (fig. 27). They all wear conical helmets of the type commonly used in the Norman period and earlier, some of solid metal, others consisting, it would seem, of an open metal framework worn over a coif of chain mail.¹⁰⁰

In the group on the right the two front soldiers are shown full-length. The one on the left wears a short red tunic, a blue chlamys, hose decorated with a diaper pattern, and white laced boots with black ornaments. He carries a sword, while in his raised right hand he holds a flail which overlaps the red frame on the right of the panel and has two weights attached to its end (fig. 28). The head of this and all the other soldiers in this group (six in all) are preserved only in black outline, the surface paint having flaked off. The soldier on the right who is pulling Christ with a rope wears a red tunic and hose decorated with a diaper pattern. His feet and legs up to the calves are cross-strapped. The other soldiers hold spears, poleaxes, and torches. The eyes of the soldiers, both in the right and left groups, have been systematically gouged out.

On the blue background is this inscription taken from Ps. 21:17, 13: ἐκύκλωσάν με κύνες [5] πολλοί | τὰ ὄρκα ποίοναί με περισχών με, i.e., "Many dogs have compassed me, fat bulls have beset me round."¹⁰¹

In the subsidiary group in the lower left corner, St. Peter, identified by the inscription ὁ ἅγιος || Πέτρος, is cutting off Malchus' ear with a knife he holds in both hands as he looks away towards Christ. Peter wears grey garments with a double red stripe on the tunic. Malchus, his face largely destroyed, grasps Peter by both wrists. He wears a deep red tunic. The outline of his body overlaps on the left the vertical red frame of the panel. His right leg pertains to the repair of 1503.

The *Judgment of Pilate* (fig. 30)¹⁰² occupies a slightly concave space, arched at the top (width of panel at the base 1.56 m., maximum height 1.37). On the top red frame is the numeral Ε'. The scene is entitled η ἐρώτησις τ(οῦ) Πιλάτου, "The Interrogation by Pilate."

Christ, inscribed ΙϞ || ΧϞ, stands in the center, his right hand stretched out towards Pilate, his left holding a scroll. The halo, which was gilded, has white

¹⁰⁰ On frame helmets, see J. Hewitt, *Ancient Armour and Weapons in Europe*, I (Oxford-London, 1855), p. 69ff.

¹⁰¹ Tsiknopoullos, "Αγ. Νεόφυτος, p. 107, records a further inscription, ΧΑΙΡΕ ΠΑ[ΒΒΙ], which we have not found. Cf. *infra*, note 110.

¹⁰² Reproduced by Soteriou, *Μνημεῖα*, pl. 68a. Indianos and Thomson, p. 169, mistakenly state that the lower part of the picture has been repainted.

crossarms decorated with red crosslets. Christ wears, as before, a blue chlamys and a purple tunic with a double red stripe. His right foot overlaps the lower frame. Pilate and his attendant are placed in front of an aedicula supported on three columns of mottled red marble topped by acanthus capitals. The spandrels of the arches are decorated with little circles and petals. Above the arcade are two horizontal rows of red tiles and a grey triangular roof, also tiled. Between the columns are hung curtains, a red one on the right and a grey one on the left. Pilate has long, brown hair and a pointed beard. He is seated on a stool trimmed with pearls, upon which is placed a red cushion. He wears a deep red tunic having a broad collar decorated with white vermiculation, a blue chlamys, and red shoes set with rows of pearls. His feet, like those of the attendant, are drawn in profile with the toes turned down. The footstool is yellow ochre and is decorated with a diaper pattern formed by lines of pearls and a red or green stone within each resultant diamond. Pilate stretches both hands away from Christ and holds them over a pan which is held by his attendant. The youthful servant has wavy, brown hair and is dressed in a grey tunic and black shoes. In his left hand he holds a white pan by its handle as he pours water out of a ewer which he holds in his right hand. The ewer is also white and seems to have been decorated with a Cufesque pattern in black which has been in large part obliterated.

The group on the left, consisting of soldiers and Jewish elders, is placed in front of a pink building having a façade of regular squared stonework. This is topped by two horizontal rows of tiles and a triangular roof. The group is headed by a soldier wearing a coat of mail, helmet, and neck-guard also of mail, a red chlamys, blue kilt, hose decorated with a diaper pattern, and white boots with a Cufesque ornament in black. In his left hand he grasps a sheathed sword by the hilt, while raising his right hand, palm open. To the left of him stands a bearded man wearing a similar helmet and a plain grey tunic. Behind are seen the heads of two white-haired, bearded Jews; further back, the pointed top of a helmet and the crowns of two heads of brown hair.

Over the blue background is this inscription in ghost letters: ἀναστάντας μοι μαρτυρες αδικῶν | α οὐκ ἐγίνωσκων ἡρώτων [με] ἀν[ταπεδίδοσάν μοι πονηρὰ ἀντὶ καλῶν], i.e., "False witnesses did rise up; they laid to my charge things that I knew not. They rewarded me evil for good" (Ps. 34: 11–12).¹⁰³

Below the Judgment and above the iconostasis is a band of interlace ornament (height 0.22 m.). On a yellow ochre background is a convoluted black stem with a light blue vein running through it (figs. 30, 50). Within each loop is a trefoil, the middle leaf red, the two others green. The coat of plaster on which the ornament is painted laps over the lower red border of the scenes above it.

The *Road to Calvary* and the *Crucifixion* form one continuous composition that deploys itself on three sides of the recess of the Holy Cross (fig. 34). The combined width of the composition is $1.50 + 1.59 + 0.50 = 3.59$ m. The maxi-

¹⁰³ The *Hermeneia*, p. 81, prescribes this text for the Judgment of Caiaphas.

num height of the Crucifixion, measured to the left of the upper window, is 1.91 m. On the vertical frame to the right of the Judgment is the numeral 9'. It is, of course, deliberate that the Crucifixion should come directly above the reliquary of the Holy Cross and that it should be in close proximity to the figures of the Prophets whose utterances, as we have seen, point to this event.

The *Road to Calvary* (fig. 31), entitled ελκομενος ἐπὶ σ(α)υρῷ, i.e., "Dragged to the Cross," begins on the left with a group of Jews standing in front of a pink hill. There are eight heads all shrouded in white, blue, or red turbans that are also wound round the neck. One of the Jews lifts up his arm to point to an inscription that is now barely legible on the blue background: ἡμεῖς νομῶν εχόμεν κ(αὶ) κατὰ τον νομῶν ἡμῶν ὀφίλει ἀποθανῆν οτι αὐτον υιον θ(εο)ῦ ἐπέψησεν, i.e., "We have a law, and by our law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God" (John 19:7). In front of the Jews a soldier strides forward pushing Christ with both hands. The soldier's face and neck have been completely eroded. He wears a grey-blue tunic, purple chlamys, purple hose with a design of alternately straight and wavy diagonal lines, and white boots with black markings. On his left side hangs a sheathed sword.

Christ, walking in a stooped posture, wears a purple tunic with a double red stripe. Above his head are the sigla ἸϞ || ΧϞ. His hair is well preserved, but his face and neck have been eroded. The halo was gilded; the crossarms are white with a design of red and blue crosslets. Both wrists are tied with a rope, the end of which is held by a young soldier. The latter wears a short, blue tunic with decorated ochre cuffs. Over the tunic is a grey coat of mail reaching down to the hips. A white sash with red stripes is tied round his chest. Over the coat of mail he wears a long, red mantle. In his left hand he holds the end of the rope; with his right he points to the cross. The lower part of the figure has been destroyed.

In front of the young soldier, Simon walks in a stooped posture carrying the cross on his right shoulder. He is nearly bald and has a short, brown beard. A light blue tunic covers his body but leaves his legs bare. The group consisting of Simon and the soldier is outlined by a "laminated" mountain in shades of grey and light blue. A crack runs down from the top of the wall, through Simon's face, and continues to the bottom of the composition.

The *Crucifixion* (figs. 32, 33)¹⁰⁴ is seriously damaged on the right side and stained on the left by water that must have trickled down through the little window situated above the figure of the Virgin. On either side of the window are two mourning angels in half-figure. They have, as usual, undulating hair ribbons and their hands are covered. Christ, labelled ἸϞ || ΧϞ, wears a white loincloth; his eyes are closed and his long hair falls over his shoulders. The halo was gilded; the crossarms are white, each decorated with a red diamond and four pearls. The modelling of the chest and belly was done in thin white lines, but most of the surface paint is now gone. From the wound in Christ's right side spurts a trickle of white water which is collected by the allegorical

¹⁰⁴ Reproduced by Soteriou, Μνημεῖα, pl. 69b.

figure of the New Testament.¹⁰⁵ Blood is dripping from the wounds in the hands and feet. The tablet above Christ's head bears the inscription ο βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης, "The King of Glory." The cross is planted between two hillocks and has a white skull at its base. To the left of the cross is the small grey disk of the moon containing a face in profile; the corresponding disk of the sun has been destroyed.

Below Christ's right arm, a small half-length angel, holding a red staff in his left hand, places his right hand on the shoulder of the New Testament personification, a female figure in red garments wearing a jewelled crown. Her collar and cuff are decorated with vermiculation. In both hands the New Testament holds a chalice, also adorned with vermiculation, the inside of which is painted red: in other words, she has just collected the blood and is now collecting the water that is issuing from Christ's wound. The crown, collar, cuff, and chalice are gilded. On the opposite side, an angel, similarly armed with a red staff, is pushing away the figure of the Old Testament dressed in the same fashion as the New, but now mostly destroyed. Above and to the right of the Old Testament appear the ghost letters η π[αλαιὰ διαθήκη].

To the left of the cross stands the Virgin Mary dressed in a blue tunic and a purple *maphorion* decorated with the usual crosslets. She wears red shoes and has a gilded halo. Her two hands are extended towards Christ. Behind the Virgin are two *myrophoroi* both without haloes. The one in front (Mary Magdalen) stands with her hands folded over her breast. She wears black shoes, a pink-brown tunic, and a purple *maphorion* decorated with crosslets. The other woman is in a grey tunic and green *maphorion* with a white crosslet on the hood. She rests her head on her right hand while holding her left hand in front of her breast, palm outwards.

St. John the Evangelist, rather clumsily drawn, wears a pink chlamys and a light blue tunic with a double red stripe. His halo is gilded. He rests his head on his right hand while his left, which is covered by the chlamys, holds a gilded book decorated with square red and blue stones and with pearls. Next to St. John stands Longinus, his face now destroyed. A white turban is wound round his head and neck. He wears a red tunic with ochre cuffs and hem decorated with vermiculation. Over an ochre coat of mail reaching down to his waist is draped a blue chlamys clasped over the breast with a fibula consisting of a round red stone surrounded by pearls. The legs are covered with purple hose and white boots having a design in black. Longinus points up to Christ with his right hand; with his left he holds a large kite-shaped

¹⁰⁵ The two allegorical figures accompanying the Crucifixion are usually referred to as the Church and the Synagogue. They are, however, explicitly identified as the New and Old Testaments on a silver Gospel cover of St. Clement's, Ohrid (N. P. Kondakov, *Makedonija* [St. Petersburg, 1909], p. 273f. and pl. XIII) and in the Serbian Psalter at Munich (J. Strzygowski, *Die Miniaturen des serbischen Psalters* [Vienna, 1906], p. 26f. and pl. x), and the same appears to have been true here. The few instances of these figures in Byzantine art before the thirteenth century have a different iconography, as in Paris. gr. 74, fols. 59, 207^v (H. Omont, *Évangiles avec peintures byzantines du XI^e siècle* [Paris, n.d.], I, pl. 51; II, pl. 180) and in the Smyrna Physiologus (J. Strzygowski, *Der Bilderkreis des griechischen Physiologus* [Leipzig, 1899], p. 45 and pl. XXIII). For a discussion of the subject, see A. Orlandos, 'Ἀρχαῖον τῶν βυζαντ. μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος, VIII (1955/6), p. 157ff. A close iconographic parallel to our painting, though on a much higher artistic level, is provided by the nearly contemporary Crucifixion at Studenica: G. Millet and A. Frolov, *La peinture du moyen âge en Yougoslavie*, I (Paris, 1954), pl. 37 (3).

shield, the pointed end of which rests on the ground. The shield is decorated with a diaper pattern, black on grey, and it has an ochre border set with stones and pearls. Above the halo are the letters ο ἀ(γίος) Ἀ[ογγίτος].

On the return of the wall to the right of Longinus is a further group (fig. 33) disposed in front of a pink mountain terminating in four curving pinnacles. The group is headed by a soldier whose head is destroyed along with most of his right side. He wears a short, grey-blue tunic having ochre cuffs decorated with vermiculation; an ochre coat of mail reaching to his waist with a white sash tied round the chest; red chlamys, purple hose, and white boots bearing a design in black. In his left hand he holds a white vessel decorated with a Cufesque design in black. The vessel contains red vinegar. To the right of the soldier stand several Jews in red, white, ochre, and green turbans and garments reaching down to their feet. Three faces have been drawn: two bearded ones frontally and a beardless one in profile, the eye of the latter being, however, shown *en face*.

The *Descent from the Cross* (fig. 35)¹⁰⁶ is 1.20 m. high and 1.03 wide. On the upper horizontal border is the numeral H'. The scene is seriously damaged, especially on the right side. Christ's right arm has already been detached, and the Virgin with both hands presses it to her face. She is dressed as before and has a gilded halo. Behind her are two *myrophoroi* in purple *maphoria*, raising their covered hands to their faces. The group on the left is defined by a pink mountain rising to three convoluted pinnacles. Joseph of Arimathea grasps Christ by the chest and envelops his body in a white sheet having a tasselled fringe and red and blue stripes. He has white hair and beard and wears a brown tunic high-lighted with *chrysographia* in yellow ochre. To the right, a young man (Nicodemus), bare to the waist, mounts a step ladder to detach Christ's left hand. This figure has lost most of its surface paint and its lower part has been destroyed. Behind Nicodemus is a grey mountain. St. John, in a light grey tunic, kneels down with covered hands and presses Christ's left foot to his face. John's halo was also gilded. The tablet on the cross reads as before ο βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης. Above are two small angels in half-figure, pressing their covered hands to their faces. The one on the right is nearly destroyed; the one on the left has a gilded halo.

The *Lamentation* (fig. 36, on the left) was originally 1.13 m. wide. Only a small fragment of this composition remains, showing Christ's legs from the thighs down. Christ wears, as before, a light grey loincloth. He is laid on a white sheet with transverse red and blue stripes and a tasselled fringe. A mutilated figure at Christ's feet (St. John or Joseph), dressed in a light grey tunic, holds one corner of the sheet. For purposes of comparison, we reproduce the *Lamentation* from the ruined chapel below the monastery of St. Chrysostom at Koutsovendi (fig. 120)¹⁰⁷ which offers furthermore a stylistic parallel to the frescoes of the Naos.

¹⁰⁶ Reproduced by Soteriou, *Μνημεῖα*, pl. 68b. Indianos and Thomson, p. 171, incorrectly state that this painting has been retouched.

¹⁰⁷ Soteriou, *Μνημεῖα*, pl. 77b; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, I, p. 305, note 1, and pl. xiv; Tsiknopoullos, 'Ἡ ἱερὰ μονὴ τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου τοῦ Κουτσοβένδῃ (Nicosia, 1959), p. 158ff.

Above Christ's body is a rectangular window giving access to the *skevo-phylakion*: as we have said (*supra*, p. 136), this was broken through at a later date. The semicircular, or rather parabolic window above the entrance door cuts into the bottom right corner of the Lamentation panel and the bottom left corner of the Anastasis. The inner reveal of this window (0.45 m. deep) has a painted diaper pattern which is original.

The *Anastasis* (fig. 36):¹⁰⁸ height of panel 1.28 m., width 1.14. On the upper red border is the numeral 1'. Christ, labelled $\tilde{\text{IC}} \parallel \tilde{\text{XC}}$, wears a blue-grey tunic with a double red stripe. The sleeves are of a different color, faded red, with white and black accents; the cuffs are gilded and decorated with vermiculation. A brown chlamys, high-lighted with a web of yellow *chrysographia*, is draped over the left shoulder, its loose end undulating in the air. Christ's hands and feet are marked with the stigmata. The halo, which was gilded, has white crossarms decorated with red diamonds and pearls. Christ raises Adam with his right hand while in his left he holds the cross, at the center of which is a white crown of thorns. Christ treads on the crossed gates of Hell which are decorated with coffering. The gates are laid over a dark chasm containing an assortment of locks, bolts, and rings. Adam, with long, white hair and beard, dressed in a grey chlamys and a pale red tunic, rises out of a sarcophagus, stepping on its edge with his left foot. The sarcophagus is placed askew and is decorated with a pattern of scales, presumably to suggest mottled marble. Eve is entirely enveloped in a red garment which covers also her raised hands. Her hood allows a little white hair to appear on either side of her face.

The group on the right is placed in front of a pale red conical mountain. All the figures stand behind the side of a pink sarcophagus decorated, as before, with scales and wavy lines. St. John the Baptist, with long, unkempt, brown hair and a beard separated into several strands, wears a dark brown chlamys and a lighter brown tunic. His right hand is raised in blessing, while in his left he holds a scroll inscribed: $\text{ιδε } \delta\text{ν } \epsilon\text{ίπ(ον) } | \text{ ἡμῶν } \delta\text{τι } \epsilon\text{ρ|χ(ε)τε κ(α)ὶ } \epsilon\text{κ|β(α)λ(η) ημ(ᾶς) } | \epsilon\text{κ τ(ὸν) του } \alpha\text{δου } | \text{ κλήθρων}$ ("Behold him of whom I have said that he cometh to free you from the bonds of Hell").¹⁰⁹ To the right of St. John is David with white hair and short beard, wearing a blue chlamys and a jewelled crown with *perpendulia*. Solomon, beardless, is dressed in the same fashion as David, except that his chlamys is purple. The remainder of the group is suggested by two heads of white hair, two heads of brown hair, and the top of another crown.

Noli me tangere (fig. 36):¹¹⁰ height of panel on the left 1.21 m., width 0.74. Christ, of gigantic stature compared to the two tiny figures crouching at his feet, stands in the center, both hands extended in a gesture of speech. The stigmata are visible both on his hands and his feet. He wears a blue chlamys

¹⁰⁸ Reproduced by Hadjiioannou, after p. 192; Soteriou, *Μνημεῖα*, pl. 70a; A. H. S. Megaw, "Twelfth Century Frescoes in Cyprus," *Actes du XII^e Congrès Intern. des Études Byzant.*, III (1964), fig. 12 (detail); Stylianou, *Painted Churches*, fig. 58 (detail).

¹⁰⁹ Same text at Moutoullas: Soteriou, *Μνημεῖα*, pl. 88a; and at Boiana (in Slavic): A. Grabar, *L'église de Boiana* (Sofia, 1924), p. 55 and pl. XIII.

¹¹⁰ Indianos and Thomson, p. 172, record the inscription $\text{ΧΑΙΡΕ } \parallel \text{ΠΑ[BBI]}$, divided by Christ's head, evidently the same that Tsiknopoullos attributes to the Betrayal: cf. *supra*, note 101.

and a purple tunic with a double red clavus and ochre cuffs. The halo is gilded; the white crossarms are decorated with X's in wavy lines. The two women are crouched symmetrically, their hands covered. The one on the spectator's left has a yellow-brown tunic, black shoes overlapping the lower border, and a purple *maphorion* with a white edging and cruciform *segmenta*. The woman on the right has a similar *maphorion*, but a grey tunic. On either side of Christ stands a stylized tree with a perfectly straight trunk. The foliage, which is pear-shaped, is suggested by concentric lines of hatching in white, green, and red on a black ground. Behind the trees is a solid wall of vegetation consisting of a twisting rinceau on an ochre ground. The rinceau is of the same type as the one above the iconostasis. The stem is black, marked with a white vein. Out of it grow trefoils with a red leaf in the center and green leaves on either side, accented in white. There are also round berries, green and red.

Lower Zone: On the south wall there is only one composition, and that dating from the repairs of 1503: it is the *Hospitality of Abraham* (fig. 37).¹¹¹ The height of the panel, as preserved, is 1.07 m., the width 1.31. The inscription on the black background reads ἡ φιλοξενία τοῦ Αβραάμ. In the middle of the composition is a semicircular table supported on little arches and covered with a checkered cloth. In the front side of the table are three small openings and two alcoves with doors ajar, each of the alcoves containing a jug. Between the two alcoves a grey chalice seems to float in mid-air. On the table are three grey bowls, four round loaves of bread with cruciform markings, two white radishes, and a long knife. Sarah, on the right, entirely enveloped in a green mantle, and Abraham on the left, in light green tunic and red chlamys, each brings a bowl to the table. The three angels all have cross-nimbi; they bless with their right hands and hold a scroll in their left hands. Their long tunics have a jewelled collar, a jewelled band running vertically down the front, and a lower border decorated with a rinceau. Their shoes are red. The central angel, who is bigger than the other two, has a bright red tunic; the angel on the right a pink tunic, and the angel on the left a light green one. The two lateral angels are awkwardly seated on semicircular carved chairs. Over the composition are graffiti of the years 1697 and 1720 and pilgrims' inscriptions in ink of the years 1748, 1751, and 1774.

To the left of the Hospitality is a roughly triangular space in which has been painted a large diamond simulating red marble. The background is green on the right and black on the left of the diamond. This ornament, too, dates from the repairs of 1503.

The west wall (fig. 15) is occupied by a frieze of twelve monastic saints forming, so to speak, a *Patericon* in pictures. The height of this zone rises from 2.17 m. above the floor in the southwest corner to 2.37 in the northwest corner. The dado, which must have been about 0.75 m. high under the first eleven saints and dropped to about 0.40 under the twelfth (St. Stephen the

¹¹¹ Reproduced by Hadjiioannou, after p. 192; Soteriou, Μνημεῖα, pl. 72a.

Younger), has entirely disappeared along with the lower portion of the figures. Proceeding from left to right, we encounter:

1. *St. Antony*, inscribed to the left of his halo ὁ ἅγιος Ἀντώνιος (fig. 38). He has a wrinkled face and a forked, white beard which leaves his chin uncovered. He wears a black skull-cap and over it a blue cowl decorated with white stripes and Maltese crosslets; a yellow ochre tunic with brown shadows, and a dark green mantle with purple and black shadows. He blesses with his right hand, while in his left he holds a scroll inscribed: + εἶδον τὰς παγίδας τοῦ δι' ἁβόλου ἡπλω[μένους ἐν] τῇ γῇ|... i.e., "I saw the devil's snares spread over the earth..."¹¹² The halo of this and all the other standing monastic saints is gilded.

2. *St. Arsenius*, inscribed to the left of his halo ὁ ἅγιος Ἀρσένιος, has receding white hair and a beard divided into five strands. He wears a blue tunic and a khaki-brown mantle with purple and black shadows. A black hood, secured with a double clasp, is thrown back over the shoulders. It is decorated with rosettes and stripes. In his right hand the Saint holds a white cross the arms of which terminate in trefoils; in his left a scroll inscribed: + ἀδελφοὶ ὅσον ἐχη | [ὁ] θεὸς ἀγαθότιτάν | μη ἀπελπίσω[μεν εἰς] ἑαυ|... i.e. "Brethren, by the goodness of God, let us not despair..."¹¹³ A small area of sixteenth-century repair covers the upper circumference of St. Antony's halo, the top segment of St. Arsenius' halo and the abbreviation of ὁ ἅγιος pertaining to the latter's inscription. In the restored area the background is painted black instead of blue, and the haloes yellow-ochre without gilding.

3. *St. Euthymius*, inscribed on the left ὁ ἅγιος Εὐθύμιος, has receding white hair and a beard that reaches down to his waist and is looped over his belt. He wears a red-brown tunic, a narrow, black belt with a design of white X's, and a chocolate brown mantle with mauve lights and black shadows. A blue scapular, visible below the waist, is decorated with white stripes and little crosses made of dots, while the folded hood is black and has a little Maltese cross on either side of the neck. In his right hand the Saint holds a white cross, and in his left a scroll inscribed: + δὴ τοὺς ἀποτασσομένους τὸ βίον μη ἐχην εἶδ[ε]τον θέλιμα· ἄλλ[ε]ν | πρότῃ τάξι κρατ[ε]ρην | τὴν ταπυνοφροσίνην κ(αὶ) | τὴν ὑπακοήν +, i.e., "Those who have renounced life ought not to have a will of their own, but to hold humility and obedience in first place."¹¹⁴

4. *St. Amoun of Nitria*, inscribed on the left ὁ ἅγιος | Ἀμοῦν | ὁ Νητριότης, has wavy, white hair and a pointed beard. He wears a yellow-brown tunic, a narrow black belt with a design of white X's, and a grey-green mantle with purple and black shadows. The scapular, decorated with rosettes and crosslets, is, once more, blue, the folded hood black. In his right hand he holds a white cross, in his left a scroll with the following inscription (fig. 42): + ἀδελφοὶ κ(αὶ)

¹¹² *Apophthegmata patrum*, PG, 65, col. 77B: εἶδον πάσας τὰς παγίδας τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ἡπλωμένους ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· καὶ στενάξας εἶπον· τίς ἄρα παρέρχεται ταύτας; καὶ ἤκουσα φωνῆς λεγούσης μοι· ἡ ταπεινοφροσύνη. Cf. Paulus Evergetinus, p. 277. The same is given as an alternative text for St. Antony in the *Hermeneia*, p. 162. In mural painting it is found, e.g., in the *katholikon* and *trapeza* of Lavra: G. Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos* (Paris, 1927), pls. 138 (3), 145 (2).

¹¹³ We have not identified the source of this quotation.

¹¹⁴ Taken literally from *Vita Euthymii*, 9, ed. by E. Schwartz, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis* (Leipzig, 1939), p. 17; cf. Paulus Evergetinus, p. 338.

π(ατέ)ρες | τῆς ἀπλίστου βρό|σεος κ(αὶ) τῆς ἀκέρου | οἰνοποσίας· ἀ|πέχεσθαι· τῇ ἐ|κλεισίᾳ προσέ|νεδρέβην κ(αὶ) διή|νεκ(ῶς) προσεὔχεσθαι[1] +, i.e., "Brethren and fathers, refrain from immoderate eating and untimely drinking; frequent the church and pray constantly."¹¹⁵

5. *St. Andronicus* (fig. 39), inscribed on the left ὁ ἅ(γιος) Ἀν|δρό|νικος, has brown hair and a pointed beard. He wears a red-brown tunic with white cross-lets on the cuffs, a narrow black belt with a pattern of white X's, and a chocolate-brown mantle with mauve high lights and black shadows. The cords used for pulling on the mantle cross over the belt. The Saint grasps a white cross in his right hand; the left is held open, palm outwards, in front of the breast.

6. *St. Daniel of Sketis*,¹¹⁶ inscribed on the left ὁ ἅ(γιος) | Δα|νι|ήλ | ὁ Σκη|τιότης, has wavy white hair and a beard divided into five strands. He is attired in a blue tunic, black belt, and grey-green mantle with purple and black shadows. The scapular, decorated with Maltese crosslets and stripes, is, as before, blue, the folded hood black. Daniel holds a cross in his right hand and in his left a scroll inscribed: + τρεις εἰσὴν αὐ|ται ἀρεταὶ ἅς | δισκόλος κτά|τε ὁ ἄν(θρωπ)ος· τὸ πεν|θὴν πάντοτε κ(αὶ) | τὸ ἔχῃν πρ... , i.e., "These are the three virtues which a man has difficulty in acquiring: to mourn constantly and to have . . ."¹¹⁷

7. *St. Theodosius the Coenobiarch*, inscribed on the left ὁ ἅ(γιος) | Θεο|δό|σιος | ὁ κοι|νοβιάρχης, has the same features as St. Amoun. He wears a yellow-brown tunic, a black belt, and a blue mantle with purple and black shadows. The scapular and folded hood have the same colors and decoration as before. The Saint holds in his right hand a white cross, and in his left a scroll with this inscription: + ἔσκεν ὁ (μον)αχ(ός) ὁ ἄπο | μοναστηρίου εἰς μονα|στήριον· ἰῶον τὴνα | ὑπο φορβέας ἐ|... , i.e., "The monk [who wanders] from monastery to monastery resembles an animal that is led by the halter . . ."¹¹⁸

8. *St. John Climacus*, inscribed on the left ὁ ἅ(γιος) Ἰω(άννης) | ὁ τῆς | κλί|μα|κος, has receding white hair and a pointed beard. He wears a light red tunic, a black belt decorated as before, and a purple mantle with mauve lights and black shadows. The scapular and hood are similar to those of the preceding saints. St. John holds a cross in his right hand, and in his left a scroll inscribed: + καλὸν με λυπῖ|σε γονῆς κ(αὶ) μὴ κ(ύριον) | ὁ μὲν γὰρ κ(αὶ) ἐπλά|σεν κ(αὶ) ἐσῳσεν ἡ | . . . , i.e., "It is better for me to grieve my parents and not my Lord; for the latter has both created and saved us . . ."¹¹⁹

9. *St. Onuphrius* (fig. 40),¹²⁰ inscribed on the left ὁ ἅ(γιος) | Ὀνου|φ|ρι|ος, is entirely nude. He has long white hair falling over his shoulders and a beard

¹¹⁵ We have not identified the source of this quotation.

¹¹⁶ Saints 6–9 reproduced by Hadjiioannou, after p. 192; saints 6–8 by Soteriou, *Μνημεῖα*, pl. 71a.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Paulus Evergetinus, p. 27 (ascribed to Esaias): τρία εἰσὶ πράγματα ἃ δυσκόλως κτάται ὁ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ αὐτὰ φυλάττει πάσας τὰς ἀρετάς· τὸ πένθος, καὶ τὸ κλαῖν ἐπὶ ταῖς οἰκείαις ἁμαρτίαις, καὶ τὸ ἔχειν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θάνατον.

¹¹⁸ *Aporhthegmata patrum*, PG, 65, col. 181A (ascribed to Esaias): ἀρχάριος μεταβαίνων ἀπὸ μοναστηρίου εἰς μοναστήριον ἔοικε ἰῶφ ὑπὸ φορβαίας ἐνταῦθα κάκεισε ἐλαυνομένω.

¹¹⁹ *Scala paradisi*, PG, 88, col. 665C: καλὸν λυπῆσαι γονεῖς, καὶ μὴ Κύριον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἔπλασε καὶ ἔσωσεν· οἱ δὲ πολλὰκις οὕς ἠγάπησαν ἀπώλεσαν καὶ τῇ κολάσει παρέδωκαν.

¹²⁰ Reproduced by Stylianos, *Painted Churches*, fig. 60.

that must have reached down to his feet. His entire body is covered with tufts of brown hair. The Saint holds both his hands in front of his breast, palms outwards. His groin is shielded by a large almond-shaped leaf attached to a stout stem. The leaf is covered with wavy veins and has several rows of white and red oval spots at its base.

10. *St. Macarius*, inscribed on the left ὁ ἅγιος Μακ|ρί|ος, is naked like St. Onuphrius and stands in the same attitude as the latter. His body is covered with tufts of white hair. He has inordinately long fingernails, white hair similar to St. Onuphrius', and a beard reaching down to his navel. The leaf concealing his groin has parallel herring-bone veins and several rows of white and red spots across its lower end.

11. *St. Paisius*, inscribed on the left ὁ ἅγιος Πα|ύ|σι|ος, has full white hair and a pointed beard. His eyes have been scratched out and part of his forehead damaged. He is dressed in a grey-green tunic and a purple mantle with mauve lights and black shadows. The belt and scapular are as before. Paisius holds a plain, white cross in his right hand, and in his left a scroll inscribed: + ὁ ποτέ μὲν | ὑπακούων | ποτέ δὲ παρακούων τῷ | ἐπιστάτι αὐτοῦ | ἔοικεν ἀνδρὶ πο|τέ μὲν κολλούριον | . . . , i.e., "He who sometimes obeys and sometimes disobeys his superior resembles a man who sometimes [applies] a salve [to his eye and sometimes unslaked lime]." ¹²¹

12. *St. Stephen the Younger* (fig. 41), ¹²² inscribed on both sides of his halo ὁ ἅγιος || Στέ|φ|αν|ος | ὁ | νέ|ο[5], is painted a little lower than the other monastic saints because the side of the cave bulges forward at this point, and consequently he reaches further down the wall. He is also at a larger scale than the other figures (height, as preserved, 1.65 m. excluding halo), and has been painted more meticulously, resembling in this the figure of Christ to the right of the iconostasis (fig. 44). St. Stephen has brown hair and a pointed beard. His halo has a jewelled border consisting of two lines of pearls punctuated by round, red stones. He wears an ochre tunic, a blue scapular decorated with stripes as well as crosslets and rosettes, a black belt with a pattern of white rosettes of different shapes, and a dark grey-green mantle. The cords of the mantle fall in loops over the knees. In his left hand the Saint holds an icon of the Virgin and Child as well as a scroll; with the index finger of his right hand he points to the icon. The scroll bears the following inscription (fig. 43): + εἰ τις οὐ προσκυ|νῇ τὸν κ(ύριο)ν ἡμῶν | Ἰ(ησοῦ)ν Χ(ριστὸ)ν κ(αὶ) τὴν ἄχραν|τον αὐτοῦ μ(ητέ)ρα | ἐν ἱκόνῃ περι|γρᾶπτῷ ἔ[σ]το ἀ|ν[ά]θεμα, i.e., "If a man does not reverence our Lord Jesus Christ and his spotless Mother depicted on an icon, let him be anathema." ¹²³ The icon ¹²⁴ has a rectangular gilded frame with a ring attached to the top side. Its background is blue and has the usual sigla ΜΡ || ΘΥ and

¹²¹ *Scala paradisi*, PG, 88, col. 708C: ὁ ποτέ μὲν ὑπακούων, ποτέ δὲ παρακούων τοῦ πατρὸς ὁμοίος ἔστι ἀνδρὶ τῷ ποτέ μὲν κολλούριον, ποτέ δὲ ἄσβεστον τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ὀφθαλμῷ προσάγοντι.

¹²² Wrongly identified as St. Theodore the Studite by Indianos and Thomson, p. 176.

¹²³ The same text is prescribed by the *Hermeneia*, pp. 163, 294, and often occurs in mural painting, e.g., at Lavra, Dionysiou, and Dochiariou: Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos*, pls. 130 (2), 146-7 (2), 205 (3), 212-3 (3), 227 (1).

¹²⁴ Detail of icon reproduced by Stylianos, *Painted Churches*, fig. 63.

ἸϢ ΧϢ. The Virgin is of the *glykophilousa* type. She wears a blue tunic and skull-cap; the *maphorion* and hood are purple and are decorated with yellow edging and crosslets over the forehead, shoulders, and elbows. The Child grasps his mother round the neck. His right foot is extended, while the left shows its sole. He wears a gold chlamys and a blue-grey tunic with a red clavus. Both haloes are gilded; Christ's contains a flaring cross with five pellets in each arm.

The monastic saints were painted from south to north in four separate groups, viz. Nos. 1-4, 5-8, 9-11, 12. These groups are separated from one another by vertical seams in the plaster rendering. In each case the layer of plaster to the left of the seam forms an underlap, that to the right of the seam an overlap. This is particularly noticeable between Nos. 11 and 12, showing that St. Stephen the Younger was painted last of all. The haloes of Sts. Andronicus, Theodosius, John Climacus, and Paisius were first struck larger, then reduced.

We now come to the north wall of the Naos, roughly two thirds of which are occupied by the iconostasis. To the right of the iconostasis is a figure of the *Enthroned Christ* (fig. 44)¹²⁵ inscribed [ἸϢ] || ΧϢ. The head, scrupulously if rather lifelessly executed, is in an excellent state of preservation. The halo is gilded and has a white cross inscribed in it. The crossarms are set with red and green stones. Christ wears a purple tunic with a gold collar band and a gold clavus over the right shoulder, both outlined with pearls and decorated with a rinceau pattern. The cuff is also gold. Over the tunic Christ wears a blue chlamys. He blesses with his right hand and with his left supports a Gospel book drawn in reverse perspective. The book has a gilded cover with a cross and *gammata* decorated with vermiculation. He sits on a red cushion. The back of the throne, its sides slightly convex, is richly decorated with a diaper pattern in red lines over a brown field. Each little diamond thus formed is painted yellow ochre and contains a brown crosslet. The diagonals are set with lines of pearls. The upper frame of the back is carved with a bead and reel moulding and is gilded. The figure is destroyed from the knees down.

To the right of Christ is the fragmentary figure of a *bishop*. The only portions of it that remain are part of the halo, the left shoulder in a brown *phainolion* and white *omophorion* decorated with black crosses, and the Gospel book with a yellow ochre cover set with stones and pearls. This, as well as the next figure, must have been cut off below the knees by the alcove which occupies the northeast corner of the Naos. This alcove, placed 0.80 m. above the floor, is 0.41 m. high, 0.30 wide, and 0.50 deep. Its sides and top are painted with a design of double black lines alternating with red and black zigzags. Directly below the alcove, part of the dado remains in a highly crumbly condition. It represents a piece of hanging drapery in white and yellow ochre with red fleurs-de-lys scattered over it. The top and bottom borders of the drapery are decorated with little circles (fig. 45, lower left corner).

¹²⁵ Reproduced *ibid.*, fig. 64.

We now come to the recess in the east wall (figs. 34, 45). The first figure starting from the left is that of *St. Gregory Nazianzen*. The inscription, above his halo and running down to the right of it, is [ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος | ο θε[ο]λ[ό]γος. The Saint has sparse, white hair, arranged in three strands over the crown of his head, and a square beard terminating in a row of ringlets. He wears a pink *phainolion* with white highlights, *epimanikia* decorated with a diaper pattern, and a white *omophorion* with black quatrefoil crosses. He blesses with his right hand and in his covered left holds a Gospel book having a yellow ochre cover decorated with a diaper pattern in pearls. Red and blue stones are placed between the intersecting diagonals.

To the right of St. Gregory we encounter a cruciform sinking in the wall (0.13 m. deep) that was evidently intended for the relic of the Holy Cross which Neophytus took great pains to procure.¹²⁶ Originally, the sinking was at least 1.52 m. high with a cross piece 0.86 m. long, and was surrounded by a painted red border. Below the sinking, which today starts 0.46 m. above floor level, there is a step-like projection from the wall. An old wooden cross, still preserved in the Naos (fig. 46), would have fitted into the sinking if we assume that the latter originally extended another 0.15 m. nearer the floor, which is entirely possible. The wooden cross is provided with a dowel at the base and is 1.63 m. high and 0.82 m. wide across the arms. At its center is a cruciform cavity 1.2 cm. deep which was meant for the insertion of the relic. The wooden cross was gessoed and gilded on all surfaces.

At an indeterminate date the reliquary was removed from the sinking in the wall. The upper arm of the sinking was transformed into a window, while the horizontal arms were blocked up with stones and frescoed over in grey. Only the leg of the cross was left in its original recessed condition.

Under the left crossarm are two tiny patches of fresco representing foliage, which suggests that a shrub or tree was painted on either side of the cross. Above the crossarms are *two archangels* (fig. 45) in the attitude of deacons. The one on the left, identified as ο αρχ(άγγελος) Μιχ(αήλ), wears a blue tunic and a deep red *sticharion*. A white *orarion*, decorated with crosslets and X's, hangs over his left shoulder. He wears red shoes which overlap the red border of the cross. Michael must have held a censer in his extended right hand (the index finger is bent), but all trace of it has disappeared. In his left hand he holds a gilded pyxis¹²⁷ decorated with a diaper pattern and outlined with a row of pearls. As usual, Michael has curly hair tied with a ribbon, one end of which is shown fluttering behind his head. His left wing is raised, its tip overlapping the upper red border. The angel on the right—surely Gabriel—is identical, but naturally reversed. Directly below him is a small fragment of the painted dado, 0.30 m. above the floor: it appears to simulate a green and purple marble revetment.

¹²⁶ See *supra*, p. 124. The famous cross of Stavrovouni (allegedly that of the Good Thief) appears to have been exhibited in the same fashion. According to Felix Faber of Ulm (1483), "It is in a niche dimly lighted, both its arms are sunk in recesses made in the wall, and its foot is sunk in a recess in the floor" (Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, p. 39).

¹²⁷ Cf. G. de Jerphanion, *La voix des monuments*, N.S. (Rome-Paris, 1938), p. 291 ff.

On the return of the wall next to Gabriel is the figure of a *bishop* (fig. 47) preserved down to the waist.¹²⁸ He wears a pink *phainolion* with an ochre collar and a white *omophorion* decorated with black crosses. He blesses with his right hand, and in his left, which is covered, holds a book. The decoration of the binding is the same as in the figure of St. Gregory Nazianzen.

Turning a corner, we come next to the figures of *Sts. Constantine and Helena* (fig. 35).¹²⁹ Constantine, inscribed [ὁ ἄ(γιος)]|| Κ[ων]|σταν|τι|νός, has an emaciated face, full brown hair, moustache, and a short, forked beard. He is vested in the ceremonial robes of a Comnenian emperor. On his head he wears a *calotte* crown with pearl *perpendulia* suspended from it. The crown is divided by lines of pearls into six panels, each containing a red or a blue stone; there are, furthermore, five sprays of pearls attached to the upper rim of the crown. Constantine is dressed in a *divitision* of a deep red color, with circular patches on the arms decorated with vermiculation. The sleeves are very full at the elbow and partly hide the cuffs which are ochre and also decorated with vermiculation. The *divitision* has a jewelled collar and shoulder-piece over which hangs the *loros*. The latter is drawn across the waist, then folded over so as to show its blue lining and thrown over the left wrist. Constantine holds his right hand in front of his breast, while with his left he grasps the shaft of the cross, which is painted purple and has a white crown of thorns in the center.

Helena, inscribed ἡ ἁγία || Ε[λένη], wears a jewelled crown consisting of three panels, the middle one being arched. Her costume is similar to Constantine's except for the shield-shaped *thorakion* of which only the top has been preserved. She stands in the same attitude as Constantine.

Next to Helena is a small fragment of a *bishop* lacking both the upper and lower portions of the figure. He is dressed in a pink *phainolion* and a white *omophorion* decorated with black crosses. The cuff of the right hand is enlivened with vermiculation. In his left hand, which is covered, the bishop holds a Gospel book, its binding decorated with a diamond-shaped stone in the center and square ones in the corners as well as with pearls.

On the south side of the entrance door three figures are represented. First comes a *monk*, his face turned in a three-quarter pose and slightly uplifted (fig. 48). Of the inscription only the words εὐτελούς (μον)αχ(οῦ) remain; we should probably supply [δέησις τοῦ δεινός] εὐτελοῦς μοναχοῦ. The monk has no halo, and he was evidently the *ktitor* who was alive at the time when the decoration of the Naos was carried out.¹³⁰ Originally, the figure must have been full-length, but now only the bust remains. The monk has a dark complexion, straight nose, eyes set in deep sockets, a full, white beard and moustache. There is a tonsure on the crown of his head. The monk is dressed in a dark olive-green mantle.

At the south end of the east wall is an alcove separated by a shelf into two unequal compartments. The bottom one is 0.51 m. wide, 0.33 high, and 0.38 deep; the top one 0.32 wide, 0.34 high, and 0.36 deep. The sides and top of

¹²⁸ The iconographic type recalls that of St. Gregory of Agrigentum at Daphni (G. Millet, *Le monastère de Daphni* [Paris, 1899], pl. x).

¹²⁹ Reproduced by Soteriou, *Μνημεῖα*, pl. 71b.

¹³⁰ See *infra*, p. 201.

each compartment are decorated with black lines alternating with red and black zigzags. The pattern is vertical in the bottom compartment and diagonal in the top one. Above the alcove are the busts of two stylites appearing behind a balustrade (fig. 49). On the left is *St. Daniel*, inscribed ο α(γ)ιος || Δανιήλ. He has long, white hair falling over his shoulders and a beard divided into five strands. The eyes have been scratched out. The Saint wears a dark brown mantle with the hood folded over the shoulders. He holds both hands in front of his breast in an orant attitude. The companion stylite is most probably *St. Symeon the Elder*: his name has disappeared, leaving only the abbreviation ο α(γ)ιος. Represented in the same attitude as *St. Daniel*, he differs from the latter only in the arrangement of his long hair and beard. His mantle is dark green. The haloes of both stylites were gilded.

3. THE ICONOSTASIS

The Naos communicates with the Bema by means of a rectangular opening into which a simple iconostasis has been inserted. At first sight the iconostasis arouses little interest: its front (fig. 50) is faced with rather rustic wood-carving, similar to the frame of the narthex door, which must have been executed in 1796.¹³¹ The "royal doors" are probably of the same date. A more detailed examination reveals, however, that the iconostasis contains a number of original elements.

The skeleton of the iconostasis as seen from the rear (fig. 52) consists of a transverse beam, 2.11 m. long, supported on four upright posts, 1.78 m. high including their "capitals." With the exception of the capitals of the two middle posts, which are of fairly recent date, the rest of the skeleton appears to be original. It is clear, in any case, that the rinceau ornament on the Bema side (fig. 76) was painted after the wooden framework had been inserted, and there is every reason to believe that the ornament is mediaeval. The two lateral openings of the iconostasis are divided more or less in half by transverse wooden bars which are, however, a later addition: the upper compartments are occupied by two large icons, of Christ Philanthropos on the east and the Virgin Eleousa on the west, while the lower compartments are closed with painted stone slabs.¹³² The slab on the east side (fig. 52 on the left) is of one piece, measuring 0.97 × 0.52 × 0.025 m., and it is gessoed and painted on both sides. On the back it has a red border along the top and the bottom (not along the sides) and large chevrons in black alternating with red zigzags. The front is painted purple and decorated with an over-all pattern of roundels placed tangentially in rows (fig. 50). Each roundel contains a circle of pearls and a fleuron with a red dot in the center. The spaces between the roundels are filled with vermiculation in yellow ochre. In the west opening two slabs of similar design have been fitted together (fig. 51): each one is a fragment, and

¹³¹ Cf. *supra*, notes 56, 87. The decoration of the iconostasis frame is identical with that of the abbot's chair dated 1796. Both have a chevron design as well as punched ornaments consisting of little circles 7 mm. in diameter and rectangular blocks of indentations measuring 7 × 8 mm. The punched ornaments must have been made on both objects with the same pair of tools.

¹³² Indianos and Thomson, p. 162 are mistaken in stating that the slabs are wooden.

upon examining the back it can be seen that the two pieces do not match (fig. 52 on the right). Two smaller fragments of slabs bearing the same decoration on front and back were found in the "library alcove" of the Cell: one measures 0.78×0.10 m., the other 0.32×0.20 m. A twelfth-century date would be perfectly suitable for the painted ornament,¹³³ so it is virtually certain that these slabs pertained to the original furnishings of the Enkleistra. Since, however, there must have been at least three slabs of similar design, they were not confined to the iconostasis. To account for the irregularities we have observed, we suggest that something of this kind may have happened: In the late eighteenth century the iconostasis was remodelled and this entailed a slight shift of the two center posts, which is why their capitals are new. In the process, the east slab was trimmed along both sides. The west slab was probably broken and so had to be pieced together by cutting up a third slab of similar design which served some other function. The trimmings were then stored away in the Cell.

The two splendid icons are clearly companion pieces. The icon of *Christ Philanthropos* (figs. 55, 57) is 0.73 m. high, 0.465 wide at the top and 0.455 at the bottom. It consists of a single panel of cypress wood with a finishing bar attached to its base. There is a vertical brace in the centre of the lower border. On the back of the icon (fig. 59) three pieces of wood have been attached with nails, an upright one in the middle and two diagonal ones across the lower corners. This was surely a processional icon which was originally affixed to a vertical pole and secured with two diagonal braces.¹³⁴ At a later date, when the icon was placed permanently in the iconostasis, the pole and braces were sawn off, leaving the three stumps on the back.

The figure is painted on a hollowed out field measuring 0.56×0.37 m. Both sides of the panel are covered with canvas which was treated with gesso prior to painting. On the lower frame is an ornamental band consisting of a chevron on a red background. A palmette fills each triangle formed by the chevron; the upright palmettes are yellow, while the inverted ones are white. All round the raised rim is a series of small, incised circles, now barely visible.

Christ, inscribed $\tilde{\Gamma}\tilde{\Sigma} || \tilde{X}\tilde{\Sigma} || \delta \phi\lambda\alpha\nu || \theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$, is represented in half-figure over a gold background. He wears a dark red tunic with accents in yellow-ochre and a broad red clavus over the right shoulder, decorated with two rows of gold diamonds. The chlamys has darkened to an almost black color. The nimbus, which contains a cross drawn in perspective, was at one time covered

¹³³ A similar ornament may be seen, e.g., on the valance of the Dormition at Asinou: Stylianou, *Painted Churches*, fig. 20. Cf. also the altar frontal in the Communion of the Apostles at Perachorio: A. H. S. Megaw and E. J. W. Hawkins in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 16 (1962), p. 303, fig. C. 1 and fig. 23. Variants of this ornament are also frequent in Cappadocia, e.g., at Göreme, chapel of Daniel, Karanlık kilise, Elmalı kilise, Çarıklı kilise: Jerphanion, *Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce*, Album I (Paris, 1925), pl. 39 (4), Album II (1928), pls. III (2), 124, 127.

¹³⁴ For comparison, we reproduce (fig. 122) an old processional icon of the archangel Gabriel from the Antiphonetes Monastery which still preserves the vertical shaft and diagonal braces. That this was the normal arrangement in the Byzantine period is shown, e.g., by the frontispiece of the Hamilton Psalter, reproduced by A. Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin* (Paris, 1957), fig. 1. On other processional icons in Cyprus, see D. Talbot Rice, *The Icons of Cyprus*, p. 59f. On "bilateral" icons which very often had a cross on the reverse, see A. Grabar in *Cahiers archéologiques*, XII (1962), p. 366ff.

The Bema is an irregularly shaped space having a maximum width, east to west, of 3.75 m., and a maximum depth, north to south, of 2.50 m. It is separated from the Naos by the iconostasis and from the Cell by a door, 1.70 m. high and 0.62 wide, capped by a slab of sandstone. The floor of the Bema is level with that of the Cell and 0.22 m. higher than that of the Naos. The ceiling of the Bema forms two distinct bays, east and west. The west bay (fig. 75) has a gently inclined ceiling that rises from a height of 1.70 m. at its west end to 2.05 at the east. The east bay (fig. 60) rises more steeply to a pinnacle 3.36 m. above floor level.

The east wall of the Bema forms a shallow apse lit by two windows: a small, central window, the sill of which is level with the top of the altar table, and a slightly larger window placed at the summit of the wall in the northeast corner of the Bema. The lower window has a perforated grille that is not original. The inner reveal of this window is decorated with diagonal black lines alternating with yellow, green, and red zigzags. The grille of the upper window is, on the other hand, original; it is of gypsum and has five circular lights.

The middle of the apse is occupied by the altar table (fig. 60) which consists of two horizontal slabs of stone laid one over the other and supported in front by an upright slab. The table top is secured in the back by means of wooden pegs driven into the wall. The front of the vertical slab is decorated with a "Russian" cross and the formula $\tilde{\Gamma}\tilde{C} \parallel \tilde{X}\tilde{C} \parallel \tilde{N}\tilde{I} \parallel \tilde{K}\tilde{A}$, all in red paint. A similar cross framed by a double border was also painted in red on the table top. A wooden bracket affixed to the wall above the altar supports an old wooden cross, 0.79 m. high and 0.44 wide (the bracket without the cross is shown in fig. 69). In the front side of the cross are three cruciform cavities for the insertion of relics. On the extremities of the arms, both on the front and rear sides, are the usual abbreviations $\tilde{\Gamma}\tilde{C} \parallel \tilde{X}\tilde{C} \parallel \tilde{N}\tilde{H}\tilde{K}$; the transverse arm has, however, been mounted upside down.

On either side of the central window is a little niche the base of which is formed by a thick stone slab (fig. 69). These niches must have been meant to hold liturgical vessels. The niche on the right (south) still preserves its painted decoration: a black cross with the formula $\tilde{\Gamma}\tilde{C} \parallel \tilde{X}\tilde{C} \parallel \tilde{N}\tilde{I} \parallel [\tilde{K}\tilde{A}]$, and a pattern of double diagonal lines in black alternating with wavy red lines. Underneath the north niche are two small openings, and there is yet another opening to the left of the niche, in the northeast corner of the Bema.

In the southwest corner of the Bema is an alcove hollowed out of the rock, 0.73 m. deep and 0.66 at its widest (fig. 77). It is decorated with four red crosses, one on the top and one on each of the three vertical sides of the cavity. The cross on the ceiling of the alcove is inscribed $[\tilde{\Gamma}\tilde{C}] \parallel [\tilde{X}\tilde{C}] \parallel \tilde{N}\tilde{I} \parallel [\tilde{K}\tilde{A}]$, the one on the left (south side) $\tilde{\Gamma} \parallel \tilde{\Gamma} \parallel \tilde{N} \parallel \tilde{\Gamma}$,¹³⁵ the one in the middle $\tilde{\Phi} \parallel \tilde{X} \parallel \tilde{\Phi} \parallel \tilde{\Pi}$,¹³⁶ and the one on the right side $\tilde{\Gamma}\tilde{C} \parallel \tilde{X}\tilde{C} \parallel [\tilde{\Phi}\tilde{X}] \parallel \tilde{\Phi}\tilde{\Pi}$. Immediately below the alcove is a further recess separated by a stone shelf into two little compartments. The upper of the two compartments preserves its painted decoration consisting of grey (originally black) chevrons alternating with red and grey zigzags.

We may now proceed to describe the figural decoration of the Bema, starting in the east bay.

¹³⁵ The meaning of these initials, which Indianos and Thomson, p. 182, have read as $\tilde{\Gamma} \parallel \tilde{\Gamma} \parallel \tilde{N} \parallel \tilde{\Gamma}$, is not clear to us. On similar abbreviations, see P. Uspenskij, *Pervoe puteshestvie v Afonskie monastyri i skity*, II/2 (Moscow, 1880), pp. 24 ff., 180 f.; N. Pokrovskij, *Evangelie v pamjatnikakh ikonografii* (St. Petersburg, 1892), p. 356 f.; G. Millet, J. Pargoire, and L. Petit, *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes du Mont Athos* (Paris, 1904), Nos. 212, 393, 543; K. G. Zesiou in Βυζαντις, I (1909), p. 132; N. I. Giannopoulos in BZ, XXVII (1927), p. 360; S. Pétridès, s.v. "Antimension," *Dict. d'archéol. chrét. et de liturgie*, I/2, col. 2325; R. M. Dawkins, *The Monks of Athos* (London, 1936), p. 230 ff. and Additions, p. 9; Orlandos, Ἀρχαῖον τῶν βυζαντ. μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος, IV (1938), p. 69 f.

¹³⁶ Φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσι.

The upper register of the apse is occupied by the *Ascension* (fig. 61). The composition, disposed along a curving surface, is split into two unequal portions by the upper window. The deployed height, measured through the figure of Christ, is 1.35 m.; the width of the south portion, measured along its base to a point directly below the right-hand corner of the window, is 1.82 m.; the width of the north portion from the window to the outer red border is 0.92 m.

The ascending Christ (fig. 62), inscribed $\tilde{I}\tilde{C} || [\tilde{X}\tilde{C}]$, is seated on a black arc within a circular glory which consists of three concentric rings: the innermost one is pink, the middle one a lighter pink, and the outer one white. Christ is dressed entirely in yellow-ochre garments with a black clavus over the right shoulder of the tunic. Shading is achieved by means of fine hatching suggestive of pen and ink technique. Christ's right hand is raised in blessing; the left holds a white scroll.

The glory is upheld by two flying angels who look away from Christ. Both angels wear an off-white tunic with a black clavus; in one case over the right, in the other over the left sleeve. The shoes of the angel on the right are red and are decorated with pearls; those of the angel on the left have been left unpainted, but they, too, have white pearls. Both angels have curly brown hair with a white pearl over the forehead. The wings are painted ochre along the outer edge, and have red and white feathers.

The Virgin Mary (fig. 63) stands on a strip of green ground directly below Christ. She is shown in a three-quarter view and has both arms raised. She wears a red-brown *maphorion* with a yellow border round the face and neck, and a light blue tunic. The lower part of the figure has been destroyed.

To the right of Mary, an archangel¹³⁷ stands frontally on a purple-red footstool, the front side of which consists of a black band decorated with rectangular red stones and three rows of pearls. The archangel wears a bright red mantle secured with a clasp over the breast, and a light pink tunic with a wide appliqué collar terminating in "tongues" that extend down the chest and both sleeves. The collar and cuffs of the tunic show remains of gilding. The lower hem of the tunic has a yellow-ochre border decorated with oval red stones and pearls. Round his waist the archangel wears a narrow black belt set with pearls, as are also his red shoes. He blesses with his raised right hand, while with his left he both draws a corner of his mantle and holds a black staff.

The apostles are disposed on either side in two groups of six. Each group is, so to speak, enclosed by a hillock colored ochre and having two trees, which must be meant to be olive trees, although one is shaped like a cypress and the other like a pine. The group on the right (fig. 65) is headed by St. Paul who strides forward rather awkwardly with his right foot on to the green ground on which Mary and the archangel are standing. He raises his right hand as if to shield his eyes, while in his left he holds a red book decorated with pearls. Except for his beard, most of his head has been obliterated. He wears a pink tunic with a black clavus, and an off-white chlamys with purple shadows.

¹³⁷ Poor color reproduction in Stylianou, *Painted Churches*, fig. b.

The second apostle, who is partly hidden from view, has brown hair and a rounded beard. His face is destroyed. He wears an off-white tunic and a red chlamys draped over his left shoulder. Next comes an evangelist with brown hair, presumably St. Mark; his face is once more destroyed. With both hands he clasps a book the cover of which is colored ochre and decorated with five little circles forming a cross. He wears a pink-purple tunic with a black stripe and an ochre chlamys. The fourth figure is that of St. Matthew. His head has been destroyed except for the tip of his white beard. He raises his right arm (preserved only in underpainting) and in his left holds a book similar to that of the previous evangelist. He wears a red chlamys and a light grey tunic with a black stripe over the right shoulder. The fifth apostle is probably meant to be St. Luke, although his features are those of St. Simon: almost bald, he has a tuft of hair on the crown of his head and a short, brown beard. He wears an ochre chlamys and a pink tunic with a black clavus. The sixth figure is that of a beardless apostle with light brown hair (Thomas or Philip). His right arm is hidden from view; in his left he holds a scroll. He wears a red chlamys and a grey-green tunic with a black stripe.

A large area of loss runs diagonally across the group of apostles on the left (fig. 64). This group is headed by St. Peter who has, as usual, white hair and a short beard. He holds up his left hand to shield his eyes as he steps forward and up with his left foot. He wears a light brown chlamys and a white tunic with a black clavus. The second apostle (St. James?) is partly hidden from view. He has brown hair and a pointed beard. His tunic is light green and his chlamys light red. Third comes St. John, almost bald and white-bearded, holding his right hand in front of his breast. He has a purple tunic and a grey-green chlamys. The next apostle is St. Andrew, recognizable by his shaggy white hair and beard. His left hand is raised to shield his eyes, his right held in front of his breast. He wears a light red chlamys and a grey-green tunic with a black stripe. The fifth apostle (St. Bartholomew?) has brown hair and a short beard. He raises his right hand as if in acclamation and holds a scroll in his left. He wears a yellow chlamys and a light purple tunic with a black clavus. The last apostle (Philip or Thomas) has brown hair falling down to his shoulders and is beardless. He shields his eyes with his raised right hand, while holding one end of the chlamys with his left. The head is in three-quarter view, the torso awkwardly twisted round to show the back, while the legs are in profile. The chlamys, draped over the left shoulder, is light brown, the tunic pale green.

The area of plaster on which the right-hand part of the Ascension has been painted shows a clear seam along the top edge of the lower red border. The seam dips down to accommodate the black jewelled band at the base of the archangel's footstool (fig. 63), then comes up again to the top of the red border and disappears into the cement patch that cuts across the lower part of Mary's figure.

On the west incline of the ceiling facing the Ascension is the unique composition of *Neophytos between two archangels* (fig. 66 and color plate): maxi-

mum height 1.29 m., width at the base 1.92.¹³⁸ The Saint (height of figure 0.99 m.) stands in the middle, his arms crossed over his breast. He has a sallow face (fig. 68), white hair with a tonsure on the crown of his head, long white beard, and moustache. There is no halo. Neophytos is dressed in a pale pink tunic, an ochre mantle, and a dark grey scapular decorated with transverse white stripes and rows of little crosses. A knotted cord (used for drawing on the mantle) runs down the middle of the scapular and parts at the knees. The letter N is faintly visible to the left of the figure, level with the elbow, and the letter Ξ ^{138a} to the right. The head is painted on a slightly convex layer of plaster which may have been applied separately.

The two archangels hold the Saint by the shoulders. Their wings cross behind his back so that their extremities emerge from behind his hips. On the spectator's right stands Gabriel, inscribed [Γαβ]ριηλ. He has curly brown hair and wears above his forehead a dark round stone framed by four pearls. He is dressed in a purple-grey mantle, clasped over the breast, which he draws across his waist with his left hand. The tunic is light green and has a wide yellow-ochre collar out of which "tongues" of the same material radiate on to the arms and chest. The cuffs of the tunic are also yellow-ochre; so is the lower border which is decorated with precious stones and pearls. The wings are painted ochre on the outside; the inside feathers are white and red. Holding a red staff in his left hand, Gabriel stands on a red footstool the front side of which is decorated with square stones and three rows of pearls.

Michael (fig. 67), inscribed ο α(γιος) αρχ(άγγελος) Μιχ(αήλ), forms nearly a mirror image of Gabriel. The costume is the same, except that the tunic is light red and the mantle light green. Traces of gilding remain on the collar. The staff has a trefoil tip. The footstool is light green and has a red band at the base (i.e., along its front side) which has been left undecorated.

Above the head of Neophytos is written the following iambic distich:

Τὸ σχῆμα τουτο δυὰς ηἰχίασμε[νη]
εἰς ἔργον ἐλθε[ῖ]ν ἱκετεύω συν πόθ[ω].

This has been understood to mean, "O holy twain, I fervently pray that this image should come true;" and it has been suggested that Neophytos was represented here as he wished to appear on the Day of Judgment.¹³⁹ It should be observed, however, that to a Greek monk the primary meaning of the word σχῆμα would certainly have been that of "monastic habit." It may be more accurate, therefore, to paraphrase Neophytos' prayer as follows: "May I be indeed enrolled among the angels by virtue of my habit, my ἀγγελικὸν σχῆμα."

Underneath the Ascension is a frieze of *four Hierarchs* converging towards the *Mother of God* (fig. 69). Owing to the peculiar shape of the apse, this composition is asymmetrical. The Virgin Mary is placed, as usual, on the axis of

¹³⁸ Reproduced by Hadjiioannou, after p. 218; Megaw, "Twelfth Century Frescoes," fig. 13 (detail); Megaw and Stylianos, *Cyprus* (as in note 2, *supra*), pl. XIII (color reproduction of archangel Gabriel before cleaning); Stylianos, *Painted Churches*, fig. 62 (detail).

^{138a} Hadjiioannou, p. 74, as well as Indianos and Thomson, p. 181 have read these letters as NT.

¹³⁹ Tsiknopoullos, "Αγ. Νεόφυτος," p. 115; *id.*, *Encleistra*, p. 30.



St. Neophytos between the Archangels Michael and Gabriel
(See also Figure 66)

the altar table, leaving room for only one hierarch (St. John Chrysostom) on the spectator's left, and three on the right (Sts. Basil, Epiphanius, and Nicholas). According to the convention that became prevalent in the twelfth century, the hierarchs are shown in three-quarter pose with their heads bowed down.¹⁴⁰

The Virgin Mary, inscribed [ΜΡ] || ΘΥ, stands in an orant attitude. She wears a bright blue tunic with a double yellow band on the cuffs and another band higher up the wrist. The *maphorion* is purple-red and has a double yellow line along the hem that is skilfully highlighted with dots of a paler shade of yellow. A single yellow border frames the opening of the hood round the face and neck.

St. John Chrysostom, inscribed on the left ὁ ἅγιος ἰω(άννης) ο Χρ(υσόστομος), has sparse, reddish hair and a short growth of beard. He wears a pink *sticharion*, an ochre *epitrachelion* showing on either side of the neck, ochre *epimanikia* decorated with vermiculation and two lines of pearls, an ochre *hypogonation* embroidered with a red diaper pattern, a green-brown *phainolion*, and a white *omophorion* with three black crosses on the front and one on the back. With both hands he holds a scroll bearing the incipit of the prayer of the Prothesis: + ο θε(ε)ς ὁ θε(ε)ς | ημῶν ο τ|ὸν ου(ρά)νιον | αρτον. The prayer is continued on the scrolls of the three other bishops as follows:

St. Basil's: [τ]ὸν [κ(ύριο)]ν [ἡ]μῶν | εἷπατο | στείλας ευ|λογοῦντα | καὶ αγιαζο|[ν]τα ἡμᾶς

St. Epiphanius': αὐτος ευ|λόγισον | καὶ τὴν πρό|θεσιν ταύ|την

St. Nicholas': καὶ προσ|δεξε αὐ|τὴν εἰς το | υπερουρά|νιον σου | θυσιαστη|ριον

that is, "O God, our God, who didst send forth the heavenly bread, our Lord [Jesus Christ] blessing and hallowing us; Thyself bless this oblation, too, and receive it to Thy heavenly altar."¹⁴¹ A vertical seam in the plaster runs down between the figures of St. John Chrysostom and the Virgin Mary.

St. Basil (fig. 70), recognizable by his iconographic type (the inscription has disappeared) has brown hair and a full pointed beard. He wears an ochre *sticharion* and a purple-red *phainolion*. The *epimanikion* on his left wrist as well as the *hypogonation* are decorated with a diaper pattern in red. The white *omophorion*, like that of St. Epiphanius, is not Y-shaped in front, but is knotted round the neck and hangs down the front and back. It is decorated with black four-petalled crosses.

St. Epiphanius (fig. 70), inscribed ὁ ἅγιος Επιφανη|ος to the right of his halo, has white hair and a pointed beard. He wears a light grey-green *sticharion*, an ochre *epimanikion* on his left wrist decorated with two lines of pearls and a checkered pattern in red, a yellow *hypogonation* decorated partly with vermiculation and partly with a checkered design, a light red *phainolion*, and a white *omophorion* with black four-petalled crosses.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Lazarev, *Freski Staroj Ladogi*, p. 23 ff.; Megaw and Hawkins in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 16 (1962), p. 308, note 57.

¹⁴¹ F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western* (Oxford, 1896), pp. 309 (liturgy of St. Basil), 360 (liturgy of St. John Chrysostom). The *Hermeneia*, p. 279 prescribes this text for the representation of St. Basil. The *incipit* frequently occurs in wall paintings, either on the scroll of St. John Chrysostom, as, e.g., at Nerezi, Studenica (church of the Virgin, in Slavic), Staro Nagoričino, Peribleptos at Mistra; or on the scroll of St. Basil, as at St. George of Staraja Ladoga (Lazarev, *Freski Staroj Ladogi*, p. 23), and St. Nicholas of Lavra (Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos*, pl. 257.2).

St. Nicholas, inscribed ο α(γίος) || Νικόλαος, is cut off at the waist (fig. 71). He has, as usual, receding white hair and a short beard. His *epitrachelion* is indicated by two gilded strips on either side of the neck and a transverse band of blue. The *phainolion* is white with grey-green shadows; the *epimani-kion* on the left wrist is ochre, decorated with a red diaper pattern between two lines of pearls. The Y-shaped *omophorion* has two black crosses, one on each shoulder. An area of repair, delimited by a fissure, runs across the base of the figure and extends down to the lower part of the garments of St. Epiphanius.¹⁴²

The bottom part of the apse wall is occupied by a dado, 1.00 m. high, consisting of diagonal black lines alternating in pairs with black and red zigzags (fig. 60).

On the north wall of the Bema, above the door leading into the Cell, is a standing figure of *Christ Emmanuel*,^{142a} inscribed ἸϞ || ΧϞ || ο Εμμανουηλ (fig. 72). The figure occupies a rectangular panel 0.92 m. high, 0.32 wide at the top, and 0.38 at the bottom. The youthful Christ is dressed in tunic and chlamys of the same color, yellow-ochre, with brown and black fold lines. The tunic has a black stripe over the right shoulder and two stripes running down to the lower hem. Christ blesses with his right hand, held in a sling-like fold of the chlamys, and holds a scroll in his left. Most of the face is destroyed. The cross within the nimbus has flaring ends and is drawn in perspective, the "front" side being painted white. Christ stands on a red footstool having an ochre strip at the base decorated with three red stones and three horizontal rows of pearls. The zone of green ground reaches almost up to Christ's knees.

The panel of Christ Emmanuel divides into two halves the *Annunciation*, Mary being placed on the left and Gabriel (fig. 73) on the right. The width of the left-hand panel is 0.74 m.; the right-hand panel is 0.81 m. wide and must have been about 1.08 high when complete. The Virgin, dressed in a blue tunic and a purple-red *maphorion* having a double yellow edging, is seated on a bench. To the right of her nimbus are the sigla ὞Ρ ΘΥ. She is represented in a three-quarter pose and turns her head towards the advancing angel. She rests her right hand on her knee and in her left hand holds a skein of purple wool on a spindle. An area of loss runs diagonally across the figure. Behind the Virgin is a building divided into two storeys by a row of corbels drawn in perspective. The building is painted a light purple-red with diagonal brushstrokes in a darker shade of the same color. The upper storey has two vertical slits to the left of the halo and a window with a gabled top to the right; the lower storey has three vertical slits. The composition, which must originally have been full-length, is rather oddly cut off on the right, through the gabled window, leaving a rectangular area of blue background 0.24 m. wide. Across the top of this area is written ἰδου η δουλη[η] κυριου γενοιτο μοι, and vertically down the middle of the area κατα [το ρημα σου], that is, "Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me according to thy word" (Luke 1:38).

¹⁴² See *infra*, p. 194.

^{142a} Indianos and Thomson, p. 179, speak of signs of retouching in the lower part of the figure, but we have found none.

To the right of the door, Gabriel,¹⁴³ inscribed ο αρχ(άγγελος) Γαβριηλ, strides briskly forward, his right hand extended in blessing, his left holding a red staff surmounted by a trefoil tip. He has curly brown hair with a round red jewel above his forehead. The wings are grey-green along the outer edge; the inside feathers are pink, bright red, purple, and black. He wears a pink tunic with a black clavus and a grey-green chlamys which is draped over the left shoulder and falls in billowing folds over the left elbow. Part of the left foot, shod in a red buskin, is preserved. Gabriel's greeting is inscribed in the upper left corner of the panel: χαίρε καιχαρητομεν(η) Μαρια | ο [κ](ύριος) μετὰ σου, that is, "Hail, much-graced Mary, the Lord is with thee" (Luke 1:28).

The ceiling of the west bay of the Bema is occupied by a disproportionately large and rather ugly medallion (diameter, including inscribed border, 1.85 m.) containing the bust of *Christ Pantocrator* (figs. 74, 75). This painting surely dates from the repairs of 1503. Christ's eyes, mouth, and the tip of his nose have been mutilated. He wears a bright red tunic with an ochre collar and an ochre clavus, both decorated with a rinceau. The chlamys, draped over the left shoulder, is grey. Christ blesses with his right hand while in his left he holds an open book inscribed: δεύτε πρὸς | με πάντες | οἱ κοπιόν|τες κ(αὶ) πε||φορτισμέ|νη καγῶ | ἄ<να>παύσω | ὑμᾶς +, that is, "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest" (Matt. 11:28). The cross-halo is ochre, each arm of the cross being decorated with a red diamond having a pearl attached to each corner. The background of the medallion is divided into two zones by a horizontal line level with the base of the halo: it is light green below the line and black above it. Over the black part of the background is the inscription ἸϞ || ΧϞ ὁ παντο||κράτωρ. Round the rim of the medallion is written the following poem, the end of each verse being marked by a little cross:

+ Ὁ πάντα φέρων τῇ δρακεῖ κ(αὶ) συνέχων
 ὁ τον ουρανὸν ἐκτίνας ὅς εἰ δέξηται
 κ(αὶ) γῆν τὴν παντοθρέπτηρα ἐπουδενὸς ἐδράσας
 ὁ καταδεξάμενος εἰς σπέος γεννηθῆναι,
 5 κ(αὶ) τονδέ κριμνόλοφον φρούρισον σ(ῶ)τερ
 ταις τῆς πανάγνου πρεσβίης Θε(οτό)κου
 κ(αὶ) τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ προφήτου κ(αὶ) προδρόμου
 συν τῷ ὁσίῳ ἐγκλείστω Νεοφύτω
 τῶν ὀρθριζόντων τὰς ψυχὰς ἀγίασον οἰκτῆρμον.

That is: "O Thou who bearest and holdest everything together in Thy hand, who hast stretched out the heavens like a curtain¹⁴⁴ and hast founded on the void the earth that nourishes everyone; Thou who hast deigned to be born in a cavern, do Thou guard, O Saviour, this craggy hill, too, by the intercession of the all-pure Mother of God and of the Baptist, both prophet and forerunner, and of the holy hermit Neophytos, and sanctify, O merciful one, the souls of them that sleep not in the night." Above the medallion is the further inscription, ὁ βασιλεὺς || τῆς δόξης, "The King of Glory."

¹⁴³ Reproduced by Sòteriou, *Μνημεῖα*, pl. 67a.

¹⁴⁴ Ps. 103 (104): 2.

Placed tangentially to the large medallion are two smaller ones (0.38 m. in diameter) containing the half-figures of the Virgin Mary (on the spectator's left) and St. John the Baptist (on the right), thus forming a Deesis. The Virgin, dressed in deep red garments, is shown with both hands extended in a gesture of intercession. The field of her medallion is divided into three concentric rings, the innermost one bright red, the middle one orange-red, the outer one pink. Inside the medallion is the inscription ΜΡ || ΘΥ; to the right of the medallion, in a vertical line, ἡ ἐλεούσα. The medallion of St. John the Baptist has the same color-scheme as that of the Virgin. The Baptist, enveloped in a brown chlamys, extends both hands towards Christ. Inside the medallion is the monogrammatic inscription ὁ ἅγιος Ἰω(άννης) || ϣ [Πρό]δρομος. The field between the two small medallions is black; underneath them, on either side of the big medallion, it is light green.

The curving wall of the west bay is occupied by a row of seven monastic saints standing full-length on a band of light green ground that reaches up to their hips (fig. 75). Their height gradually increases as the ceiling rises towards the east; the same applies to the size of their haloes which grows from 0.29 m. (Sts. Ephraem and Cyriacus) to 0.32 m. (St. Euthymius). The saints are described starting from the left.

1. *St. Ephraem the Syrian* (figs. 77, 78), inscribed ὁ ἅγιος || Ἐφραίμ ὁ Σύρος, has sunken cheeks, a short, divided beard and moustache. The pupils of his eyes have been scratched out. His head and neck are wrapped in a green-brown cowl decorated with white edging, transverse white lines, and crosslets made of dots. He wears a purple-pink tunic, a green-brown mantle with white edging, a blue scapular with white stripes and Maltese crosslets, and a loose black belt decorated with transverse white lines and little circles. The lower part of the figure is destroyed. The Saint blesses with his right hand, while in his left he holds a scroll bearing the inscription: + |[ἀρχή] |[καταστρ]οφ[ή]ς (μον)α(χοῦ) γέλος καὶ | παρρησία, that is, "The beginning of a monk's ruin are laughter and license of tongue."¹⁴⁵

2. *St. Cyriacus the Anchorite*, inscribed ὁ ἅγιος || Κυριάκος || [ὁ ἀναχ]ω||ριτής, has white hair and a pointed beard divided into six wavy strands. He wears a yellow-brown tunic, a pink-purple mantle and a blue scapular. A green-brown hood, decorated with white stripes and crosslets, is folded back over his shoulders. The Saint holds his right hand in front of his breast in a gesture of blessing, and grasps in his left a scroll inscribed: πλήθος μ[ο]|ναστων εν | ταυτὸ κατ|...¹⁴⁶ The figure is destroyed from the waist down.

3. *St. Gerasimus*,¹⁴⁷ inscribed ὁ ἅγιος Γεράσιμος, has white hair parted in the middle and a pointed beard divided into six strands. He wears a green-brown

¹⁴⁵ Paulus Evergetinus, p. 493. The *Hermeneia*, p. 164, gives a metrical version, παρρησία γέλωτι συγκεκραμένη | ψυχὰς ἀπὸ γῆς εὐχερῶς καταστρέφει (another metrical version, p. 286), which accompanies the portrait of St. Dorotheus in the *trapeza* of Lavra: Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos*, pl. 146-7 (1). Cf. F. Nau, "Histoire des solitaires égyptiens," *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, 2nd Ser., II (1907), p. 403, No. 118: ἡ παρρησία καὶ ὁ γέλως οἶκεν πυρὶ ἐν καλᾷ κατεσθίοντι (= Paulus Evergetinus, p. 492).

¹⁴⁶ We have not found the source of this quotation.

¹⁴⁷ Saints 3 and 4 are reproduced by Soteriou, *Μνημεῖα*, pl. 72b.

tunic, a purple mantle, and a blue scapular. The folded hood is purple, decorated with white lines and crosslets. He blesses with his right hand, and in his left holds a scroll bearing this inscription: *εργον τῆς | μετανυ|[α]ς το καθερι τοῦς | λογησμοῦς | κ. . . διαλι | . . . προσ*, that is, "It is the function of repentance to cast down imaginations . . ." ¹⁴⁸ The lower part of the figure is missing.

4. *St. Theodore the Sanctified* (fig. 79), inscribed *ὁ ἅγιος Θεοδωρος || ο ηγιασμενος*, is almost identical in appearance to St. Gerasimus. ¹⁴⁹ He wears a yellow-brown tunic, a green-brown mantle, and a blue scapular decorated with white stripes and crosslets. The folded hood is purple and bears the same kind of decoration. His waist is girt with a black belt having a design in white, and the usual knotted cord falls to his knees. The Saint holds his right hand in front of his breast with fingers extended, while in his left he grasps a scroll inscribed: *ο εχον τον | φοβον του | θεου εν τη | καρδια αὐτου | ου χριαν εχιν | βιβλων πολλων αρ|κι γαρ αὐτον | ο φοβος του | θεου*, that is, "He who has the fear of God in his heart has no need of many books, for the fear of God is sufficient unto him." ¹⁵⁰

5. *St. Pachomius*, inscribed *ὁ ἅγιος || Παχώμιος*, has white hair and a pointed beard divided into four strands. He wears a pink-brown tunic, a purple mantle with a border of white stripes and Maltese crosses, a blue scapular similarly decorated, and a black belt with a design in white. The Saint blesses with his right hand, and in his left holds a scroll with this inscription: *+ ταύτην | ἦνε την | βασιλεϊκ|ήν ὁδὼν ἐ|θέσπησαν | ὕ πατέρες | το ἄπαξ ἐ|σθήην +*, that is, "This is the royal road that the Fathers have laid down, namely to eat once [*sc.* a day]." ¹⁵¹ The figure is preserved almost to its full length.

6. *St. Hilarion* (fig. 80), inscribed *ὁ ἅγιος || Ἰλαρίων*, has white hair and a pointed beard divided into eight strands. He wears a yellow-brown tunic, a brown mantle with an edging of white stripes and crosslets, a dark grey scapular with white lines and Maltese crosses, and a black belt with a design of little circles and X's. He holds his right hand with fingers extended over his breast; in his left is a scroll bearing this inscription: *+ ψυχη εὐ|δομικον|τα ἔτι ἐ|δούλευ|σας τον θεον | και θάνα|τόν φοβή|σε +*, that is, "O [my] soul, for seventy years thou hast served God, and fearest thou death?" ¹⁵²

7. *St. Euthymius*, inscribed *ὁ ἅγιος || [Εὐθύ]μιος*, has an emaciated face, white hair, and a beard that reaches down to his waist and is knotted over the belt just as in his portrait in the Naos (cf. fig. 38). He wears a purple-pink tunic, a purple mantle trimmed with an edging of white stripes and crosslets, a blue scapular decorated with white lines and Maltese crosses, and a black belt. He

¹⁴⁸ Indianos and Thomson, p. 183, read *ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΓΕΙΝ . . . ΠΡΟΣ* in the last two lines. Cf. II Cor. 10: 5 (*λογισμοὺς καθαιροῦντες*), a text that is put in the mouth of St. Gerasimus in his *Life*, ed. by Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσ. σταχυολογίας*, IV (1897), p. 177.

¹⁴⁹ Reproduced by Stylianos, *Painted Churches*, fig. 59.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Paulus Evergetinus, p. 948: *ἐὰν οὖν μὴ εὖρη τὸν φόβον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ [sc. τῆς χρείας], μάτην πέποιθεν ἐπὶ τῇ γνώσει τῶν θείων γραφῶν* (saying ascribed to Esaias).

¹⁵¹ Paulus Evergetinus, p. 402 (ascribed to Poimen): *εὖρον [sc. οἱ πατέρες] ὅτι κρείττον τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν μὲν ἐσθίειν, παρὰ μικρὸν δέ, καὶ ταύτην τὴν βασιλικὴν ὁδὸν παρέδωκαν ἡμῖν.*

¹⁵² *Vita S. Hilarionis*, ed. by Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς σταχυολογίας*, V (St. Petersburg, 1898), p. 135, § 45: *ἐκπορεύου, ψυχὴ· τί φοβῇ; ἔξελθε· τί διστάλεις; ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη ἐδούλευσας τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ θάνατον φοβῇ*; The same text is quoted in Donne's *Death's Duel*.

blesses with his right hand, and in his left holds a scroll with the following damaged inscription: ο φιλησ... | (μο)ναχ(ός) στή... | γ. νέος προ|στα... | λ... | λου κ(αι) ... | λος κλήνε|. ¹⁵³

The inner reveal of the opening which contains the iconostasis is decorated with a band of rinceau ornament in yellow-ochre on a dark brown background (figs. 76, 77). The ends of the stylized leaves are high-lighted by means of white dots which have thin white veins running out of them.¹⁵⁴ A small portion of this ornamental band was renovated in 1503, the area in question being shown in the middle of figure 76.

5. THE CELL

The Cell or Enkleistra proper is a small room of more or less trapezoid shape. Its west side is occupied by a raised step, 0.40 m. high, about 0.63 deep, and 1.73 long, which must have served as the Saint's couch. Behind the couch is a large alcove said to have contained his books. It is 0.85 m. deep, 1.02 at its widest, and 1.63 high, its floor being 0.17 above the top of the couch. Until fairly recently there used to be in this alcove a wooden cupboard filled with monks' skulls.¹⁵⁵ At the northwest corner of the alcove and 0.89 m. above its floor is a further recess, 0.35 m. deep, 0.45 wide, and 0.58 high.

In front of the couch and not quite parallel to it is a masonry table projecting from the wall (figs. 82, 100). Its two long sides are pierced by little arches. The short side, which is made of a single slab of stone, as well as the long side facing away from the couch, is painted with a diagonal design of straight black lines alternating with red or yellow zigzags. The top of the table consists of a stone slab measuring 0.85 × 0.56 m.; the height of the table is 0.61 m. Above the head of the couch is a tiny alcove divided by a shelf into two compartments. The face of the rock is hollowed out above the table and the head of the couch to an average height of 1.25 m. above floor level; from that point upward it rises almost vertically (fig. 82).

A large recess at the northeast corner of the Cell was occupied by the Saint's tomb. The tomb is separated from the Cell by a waist-high wall built of rubble and lime mortar; in its present state this wall could hardly be earlier than 1756, the date of the invention of the relics. The wall has been refaced by us and the opening that gives access to the tomb closed off with a panel of transparent plastic.¹⁵⁶ The tomb chamber is 2.10 m. high, about 1.15 deep at its west end and tapers slightly towards the east. In its north wall is a little alcove, 0.25 m. deep, 0.55 wide at its base, and 0.68 high. The actual cavity of the tomb is carved out of the rock and it was originally plastered. The cavity is about 0.50 m. wide and 1.77 long, and its bottom lies about 0.70 m. above the floor of the Cell.

¹⁵³ Indianos and Thomson, p. 185 read ... ΣΤΗΝΕ in the second line.

¹⁵⁴ For the ornament, cf. Paris. gr. 708 of the year 1296 (A. Frantz, "Byzantine Illuminated Ornament," *Art Bulletin*, XVI [1934], pl. XIII. 19). It also appears in the early fourteenth century at Prizren and Gračanica: Zagorka Janc, *Ornamenti fresaka iz Srbije i Makedonije* (Belgrade, 1961), figs. 278, 281.

¹⁵⁵ Hogarth, *Devia Cypria*, p. 21; Mrs. Lewis, *A Lady's Impressions of Cyprus*, p. 161.

¹⁵⁶ This measure was taken to prevent visitors from climbing into the tomb. It used to be considered beneficial for sick persons to turn round three times in the tomb: Hogarth, *loc. cit.*

The east wall of the Cell is pierced by a little door, 1.13 m. high and 0.50 wide (fig. 86). Hadjiioannou reports that this door was opened after the invention of the Saint's relics in order to enable women to worship at the tomb without passing through the Bema, which is not allowed in the Orthodox Church. Prior to that there was only one entrance into the Enkleistra complex, namely through the narthex. Hadjiioannou adds that when the little door was made, two inscribed fragments of the plaque which had formerly covered the tomb were built into its north jamb.¹⁵⁷ Indianos and Thomson deny this statement.¹⁵⁸ Nevertheless, at the very spot indicated by Hadjiioannou there is a piece of eroded soft limestone, measuring 0.23×0.17 m., which shows traces of very fine incised lettering. At least thirteen lines of writing are visible, but the surface of the stone has deteriorated so much that we have been unable to read any part of the inscription. For the record, we have photographed the stone after marking the existing incisions with the point of a lead pencil (fig. 85).

Above and to the left of the door is a little alcove, 0.60 m. at its highest, 0.34 deep, and 0.31 wide, separated by a shelf into two compartments. Judging by the surviving fresco border, this alcove appears to have had originally a rounded top, not the gabled top it has today.

The Cell is lit by two windows: a semicircular window at the top of the east wall and a small rectangular window half-way up the same wall in the south-east corner of the room. The latter window preserves as yet its original wooden frame. The ceiling of the Cell is very irregular and rises to a maximum height of 3.29 m., roughly in the center of the room.

We may now turn our attention to the paintings of the Cell which have suffered more damage than those of the Naos and Bema. The apex of the ceiling, which forms a kind of dome, contains half-figures of *prophets* (fig. 83) in circular medallions 0.57 m. in diameter, including the border. One of these medallions is preserved in its entirety, and two others in part; if there was a fourth one, it must have been somewhat smaller than the other three.

The only complete prophet is Daniel,¹⁵⁹ inscribed above the medallion [δ] προφήτης || Δανιήλ. The rim of the medallion is purple and appears to have been once gilded; the field inside the rim is blue. Daniel has curly brown hair and wears on the crown of his head a little red cap decorated with three pearls. He is dressed in a grey tunic with ochre cuffs and a broad decorated collar. The collar was first painted yellow-ochre with brown fold-lines; later it was covered with gilding and black vermiculation which have now partly peeled off. The chlamys is purple-red, edged with a line of pearls. There is a circular patch on each shoulder, covered with gilding and vermiculation and also outlined with a row of pearls. Daniel holds his right hand in front of his breast; in his left is a scroll bearing the inscription: οὗτος | καγο εθεό|ρουν έως

¹⁵⁷ P. 69.

¹⁵⁸ P. 187.

¹⁵⁹ Reproduced by Soteriou, *Μνημεία*, pl. 67b.

ου | θρόνοι ἐτέ|θησαν καὶ | παλαι|ός, that is, "I beheld till the thrones were set up and the Ancient [of days did sit]," (Dan. 7:9).¹⁶⁰

The medallion to the west of Daniel is half destroyed. The rim of the medallion is ochre, while the field consists of four concentric rings in graduated shades of greyish pink, the innermost one being the darkest. The prophet's head and name have been destroyed: he was probably David since his text is taken from the Psalms, although one would normally have expected here either Ezekiel or Jeremiah. He wears a pink-grey tunic with an ochre cuff on the right wrist, and a red-purple chlamys edged with a line of pearls and provided with round shoulder patches (only the right one is preserved) painted ochre and also outlined with pearls. The right hand is raised in blessing, while the left holds a scroll inscribed: + | ὁ θεὸς | κάθητε | ἐπὶ θρό|νου αγί|ου αὐτοῦ, that is, "God sitteth upon the throne of his holiness" (Ps. 46:9).

The third medallion, which originally contained the prophet Isaiah, has an ochre rim and a purple-red field. The figure is missing except for a small segment of the halo. The inscription Ησαῖας is visible to the right of the medallion. At the base of all three medallions is an undulating area of light green upon which are painted clumps of grass in diluted black color.

The paintings in the eastern part of the ceiling, i.e., between the prophets and the east wall of the Cell (fig. 81, top left corner), are mostly destroyed except for the mutilated head of a saint and a few lines of inscription (fig. 84). Prior to 1940, Indianos and Thomson¹⁶¹ were able to identify the saint as *Damian* thanks to a vertical inscription, ο α(γιος) Δαμιανος, but this has since disappeared, leaving only the Saint's forehead, hair, and part of his halo.

Separated from St. Damian by a red border is an inscription in black letters on a white ground. It consisted of at least eight lines, and possibly more. The following letters remain:

...εόφμε...ἐκτεν τῷ Κουτζου-
[βένδη] θείας μονῆς· εἰς τὸ φρού-
[ριον.....] ἡσυχίας ἀπο-
.....ς ὡς δὲ κε-
.....ς θ(εο)ῦ,
.....καὶ ἀνά-
.....ετε
.....

The mention of the monastery of Koutsovendi, of a castle (presumably the castle of Paphos in which Neophytos was imprisoned), and of quietude make it certain that this inscription described the career of Neophytos. The initial letters may actually spell his name, the ending having possibly been written *supra versum*.

The east wall of the Cell (fig. 86) is decorated with a row of standing *military saints*, now badly mutilated. Originally, there were at least four of these

¹⁶⁰ This text is prescribed by the *Hermeneia*, pp. 262, 290.

¹⁶¹ P. 189.

saints, possibly five, in view of the fact that the door did not exist at that time. The saints are aligned on a strip of light green ground, 0.45 m. high,¹⁶² the baseline of which is 0.78 m. above the floor. The dado, now largely destroyed, consisted of four roundels simulating marble inlay. The roundels, alternately red and black, had a serrated border, and each roundel was inscribed in a square, the field of which was alternately grey (when the roundel was red) and yellow-ochre (when the roundel was black).

The first saint on the left has disappeared, leaving only a small patch of garment, bright red heavily overpainted in brown. Next comes St. Theodore Stratelates (fig. 87), inscribed on the right [Θεόδω]ρος ο στρατιλάτης. The figure, when complete, was about 1.50 m. tall, excluding the halo. Most of the head has been destroyed except for the end of a forked beard, the hairs being neatly drawn in diagonal lines, just as in Christ's beard in the Deesis panel (cf. fig. 98). St. Theodore wears a pink-grey tunic with a cuff on the right wrist outlined with two rows of pearls. Over the tunic is a breastplate decorated with red and blue stones. The chlamys, clasped over the breast, is white, shaded with a clear blue, and has an inset *tablion*. Patches of brown underpainting are visible beneath the white of the chlamys. The right hand, which is painted on an embossed patch of plaster (the same applies to the two following saints), holds a white cross with two transverse bars. On the lower part of the figure are two inscriptions in ink, one of them dated 1736.

Next comes a beardless saint with rather straight hair cropped above his ears, a type that normally characterizes St. Demetrius.¹⁶³ The head, now mutilated, is built up in an impasto technique over two lower coats of paint, the first terre verte, the second yellow-ochre. It may also be seen that the left cheek was drawn twice. The nimbus was painted on a separate patch of plaster which also includes the head and neck, and it was gilded. The Saint wears a light brown tunic having a border along the lower hem; the right cuff is of a dark color and is outlined with pearls. The upper part of the right arm is enclosed in a protective sleevelet which has red and blue stones scattered over it and terminates in a row of pearls along its lower edge. Over the tunic the Saint wears a breastplate which appears to have been gilded and which is also outlined with a row of pearls. A red-brown chlamys (painted over a coat of light red) has a *tablion* sewn on it, and it is knotted over the breast. The Saint holds a white cross in his right hand.

The fourth saint, perhaps Procopius (fig. 88), is also beardless, but his face was a little fuller and his hair a little longer than those of the preceding Saint. The upper part of the head and most of the figure below the waist have been destroyed. The head, including the nimbus, and the right hand are, once again, painted on built-up patches of plaster. The saint wears a pink-grey tunic with the same kind of cuff as before; a breastplate bespattered with red and blue jewels and having a scalloped outline set with one row of pearls; and

¹⁶² Where the green has flaked off we have found red underpainting. The main background, which is blue, has grey underpainting.

¹⁶³ Cf. P. A. Underwood in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 13 (1959), p. 192, note 18.

a light brown chlamys decorated with a *tablion*. The chlamys is tied in a knot over the breast. In his right hand the saint holds a white cross. The outline of the garments continues along the left edge of the lower window (fig. 86), but this does not mean that the window was cut through at a later date.

The painted decoration of the east wall includes, furthermore, some small areas of ornament. Above the little door that leads out to the open are two rectangular panels separated from one another by a horizontal red band and delimited on the right by a vertical red border (fig. 86). The upper panel has a white frame and a number of diagonal lines over a yellow-ochre field. The lower panel, of which only the upper right corner remains (the rest is a modern patch), is itself superimposed on an earlier decoration. These two panels are presumably contemporary with the door, i.e., not earlier than the middle of the eighteenth century. Between the door and the tomb chamber there is also a small fragment of an arabesque (red against a yellow-ochre ground) in the right-hand spandrel of the little alcove shown on the left side of fig. 86.

The south wall of the Cell (fig. 81), which is slightly convex, had paintings in two zones. In the course of our restoration work it became apparent that the frescoes now visible were not the original ones, but were painted over an earlier decoration that had, for the most part, the same subject-matter. In the following descriptive notes we shall therefore distinguish between the upper layer and what little can be seen of the lower layer.

Starting at the east end of the upper zone, we have first, in the upper layer, a narrow rectangular panel (width, excluding borders, 0.31 m.) that contained a standing saint (fig. 90). The figure, which must have been that of a royal personage,¹⁶⁴ is preserved from the waist down. It is attired in red shoes (only the left foot remains) and a greyish pink tunic having a decorated border along the lower hem. A narrow black belt set with red stones and two lines of pearls girds the waist. With his left hand the saint draws one corner of his chlamys over his thigh in precisely the same manner as the archangels in the Bema (cf. figs. 63, 66). The chlamys is red and it falls behind the figure on its left.

Originally, a much larger figure was painted here. The lower stratum shows a panel of blue background about 0.60 m. wide, with a vertical red border on the right that extends beneath the figure of the first *myrophoros* in the Crucifixion. The earlier figure was apparently a bust, since there are traces in the lower stratum of a horizontal red border, level with the lintel of the door. The following elements of the earlier figure are preserved: part of the neck with a shadow under Adam's apple, part of the collar, and a segment of the nimbus beneath the figure of the second *myrophoros* in the Crucifixion. The nimbus had a double outline (black inside, white outside), and it must have been placed a little higher up than the nimbi of the military saints on the east wall. Below the nimbus and neck only a few tiny patches of the lower stratum are visible: they are mostly ochre with black fold-lines.

¹⁶⁴ David was commonly represented next to the Crucifixion, as he is in the Naos. If this is David, however, it is surprising that he should not be holding an inscribed scroll.

The *Crucifixion* (upper layer)¹⁶⁵ is 0.99 m. high and 1.27 wide at the base: note that it is placed markedly to the left of center with regard to the door underneath it (fig. 81). Christ's figure has suffered severe damage (fig. 89). He wears a finely drawn white loincloth decorated with two little rosettes consisting of red dots. The hem of the loincloth that descends from the point where it is knotted over the belly has a red border. Blood spurts from the wounds in the left hand and both feet. The cross is in three shades of brown, probably referring to the three kinds of wood from which it is said to have been made: this is also true of the Crucifixion in the tomb chamber (cf. fig. 106). At the base of the cross is a white skull. Above Christ's head are the usual sigla [ΙΧ] || ΧC.

To the right stands St. John, his bowed head supported on his right hand, while his left grasps a fold of his chlamys. His well-preserved face (fig. 91) is enlivened with patches of red on the cheeks, along the line of the nose, the lips, the cleft chin, and even on the forehead. The contracted eyebrows and drooping mouth convey St. John's sorrow. He is dressed in a pink-grey chlamys and a green tunic with a black clavus. Forming a T to the right of his halo is the inscription ὁ ἀγιος ἰω(άννης) ο θε|ολογος.

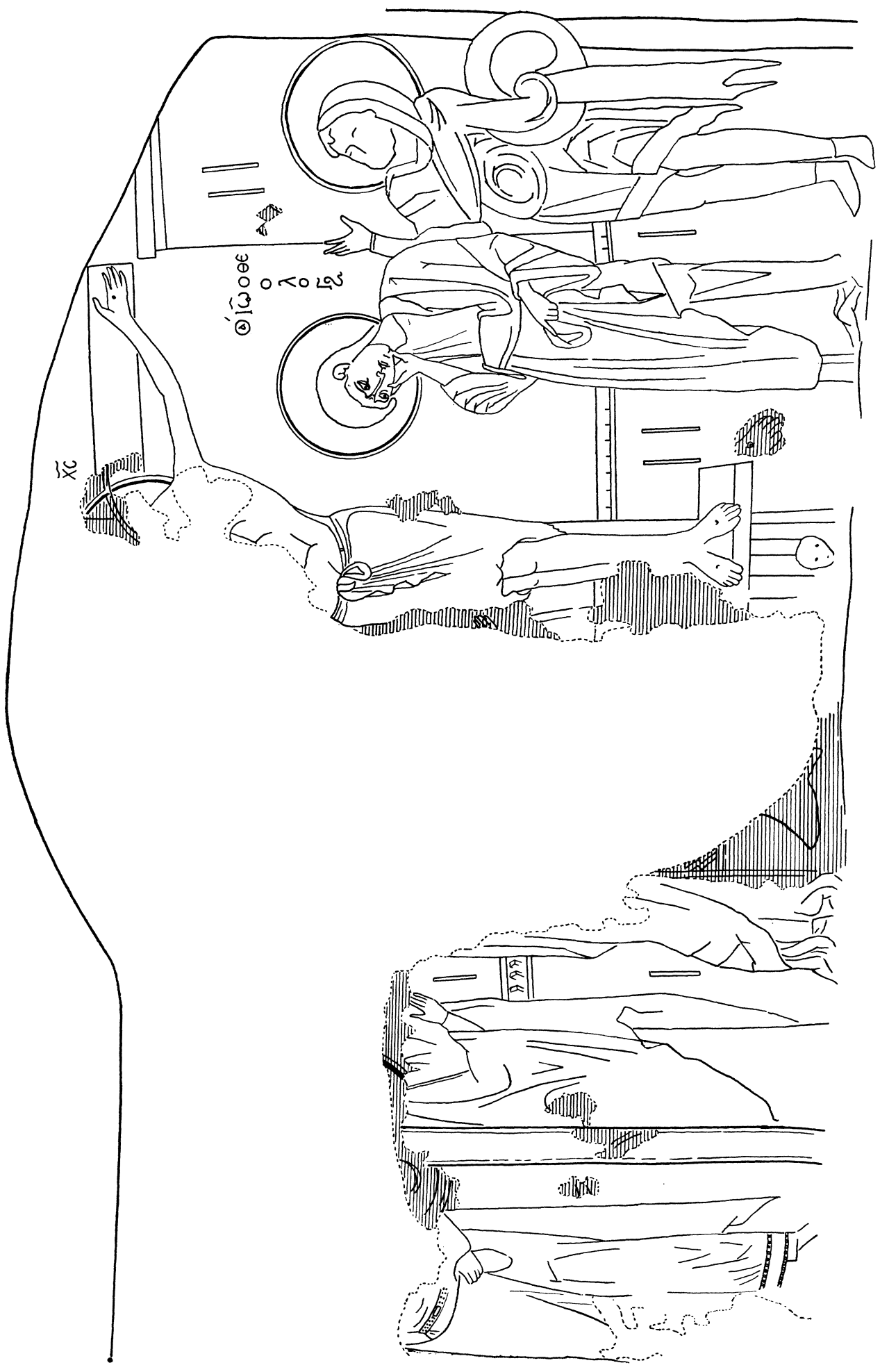
Longinus, who stands behind St. John, has brown hair and a short beard. His face is largely destroyed. He wears a purple tunic with a hood of the same color, purple hose and shoes, and a short green chlamys with a purple border. The right hand is raised. The area of the left arm shows a swirling mass of meaningless drapery. Presumably, the centurion was meant to be holding a small round shield which the painter has transformed into a white ring that partly overlaps the vertical red frame of the composition. In front of the "shield" is a sleeve-like fold of the green chlamys and a hanging piece of purple drapery, the same color as the tunic.

Immediately to the left of Christ is a curving purple line that could have belonged only to the *maphorion* of the Virgin Mary, placed unusually close to the cross. Behind her were represented two *myrophoroi* (fig. 90). The first wears a green-brown *maphorion* and an ochre tunic falling to the ground in agitated folds. The second, pressed against the vertical frame of the panel, her right hand raised, is dressed in a yellow-brown tunic and a purple-brown *maphorion*.

All the figures are disposed on a wavy strip of green ground. Behind the cross is a low grey wall pierced by a number of slits and capped by a course of dentils. On either side of the wall rises a tower-like structure. The one behind the centurion is pink-grey and has two vertical slits. The tower on the left is painted a purplish pink and, in addition to slits, has, halfway up, a row of corbels in perspective, just as in the Annunciation of the Bema (cf. fig. 72).

The composition we have just described is painted on a thin coat of gesso overlaying an earlier Crucifixion. The few fragments of the latter that may

¹⁶⁵ Reproduced by Soteriou, Μνημεῖα, pl. 69a (detail of St. John and the centurion); Stylianos, *Painted Churches*, fig. 61 (detail of St. John).



A. Cell. Crucifixion, showing two Layers of Painting. Lower Stratum hatched

still be made out are shown hatched in Figure A: they include a segment of Christ's halo, his left foot (to the right of the lower transverse bar of the cross), Mary's outstretched hand, and the tail-end of her garments. Behind Mary was a wall decorated with a chevron pattern. The background was a bluish grey. The earlier Crucifixion was about 0.96 m. wide and was centered over the door leading into the Bema. It probably consisted of three figures only, namely, Christ, the Virgin Mary, and St. John.

To the right of the Crucifixion is a rectangular panel containing a figure of *St. Andrew Salos* (fig. 92). The panel is 0.44 m. wide and, if it was originally full-length, would have been about 1.30 m. high. This fresco, too, replaces an earlier one that represented the same Saint. Here, however, the earlier bed of plaster appears to have been cut out instead of being gessoed over. The relaid area of plaster is delimited by a hair-crack which on the left runs 1 to 2 cm. inside the Crucifixion panel: note that one half of the centurion's "shield" is painted over the relaid coat of plaster.

St. Andrew is represented as a man with unkempt grey hair and a short beard. His eyes, mouth, and the tip of his nose have been gouged out. He wears a short-sleeved fleecy white garment tied round his waist with a cord. In his right hand he holds a branch with red, blue, and green leaves bespattered with white dots. The left hand is held palm outwards. On either side of the halo, which was once gilded, is the inscription $\delta \acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma \parallel \text{'Ανδρε|ας} \mid \delta \delta\iota\alpha \mid \chi(\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o})\nu \sigma\sigma\alpha|\lambda\omicron\varsigma$. The blue background has a great deal of chopped straw breaking through the surface. The earlier panel extended 10 cm. further to the right. The right-hand half of its inscription is still clearly visible, running down the vertical edge: $\phi \delta\iota\alpha \chi(\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o})\nu \sigma[\alpha]\lambda\omicron\varsigma$. The ending $-\omicron\varsigma$ is a correction written over the ligature δ .

The lower zone of paintings on the south wall was probably confined to the space to the left of the door (fig. 81). All we can say with certainty is that there were here two standing figures whose haloes must have been level with the lintel of the door. These, too, appear to have been military saints. The figure on the left is wearing some kind of a brown kilt with a scalloped line over the hips, and, round the waist, what looks like a belt cut out so as to form a row of little shields.¹⁶⁶ The chlamys is also brown with red underpainting. The figure on the right had a brown tunic and a blue-green chlamys.

The thickness of the door leading into the Bema was also decorated with painting. Small fragments of a standing figure remain on the west jamb, namely, part of the head including the left eye, the right hand held in front of the breast, and a patch of brown garment further down.

The west side of the Cell is occupied by the Saint's couch and the "library alcove" so that it offers no space suitable for figural compositions (fig. 82). In the overhang of the ceiling above the "library alcove" is a trapezoid panel simulating marble inlay. Against a background of swirling red lines were

¹⁶⁶ For this kind of costume, cf., e.g., the mosaic of St. Demetrius from St. Michael's Monastery at Kiev (V. Lazarev, *Istorija vizantijskoj živopisi* [Moscow, 1948], II, pl. 173), the figures of SS. George and Demetrius at Cefalù, etc.

disposed five roundels, a larger one (diameter 0.36 m.) in the middle and four smaller ones (diameter 0.215 m.) in the corners. The central roundel has a red disk outlined with black dentils. The top right-hand roundel is similar, except that the disk is black. The lower right-hand roundel has a red disk bordered by little black balls. The two smaller roundels on the left side have been destroyed except for a segment of the outer circumference of the lower one.

A further area of ornamental design occupies what little vertical wall space there is next to the head of the couch (fig. 82, above the desk). Here, too, we have a roundel with a serrated border, the remaining space being filled with diagonal black lines alternating with red and ochre zigzags.

The north wall of the Cell is largely taken up by a monumental *Deesis* (fig. 94),¹⁶⁷ which is surely the most remarkable painting of the entire Enkleistra complex (maximum height of panel 1.94 m., maximum width 1.46). It has been seriously disfigured by graffiti, especially over the robes of Neophytos and the Virgin (fig. 93). Many of the graffiti are dated and they range from the late seventeenth century to the present generation. We have endeavored to make the graffiti unobtrusive by filling them with plaster which was then touched up with paint.

The *Deesis* comprises four figures, each one of them painted on an area of plaster that was tooled round the edges so as to stand out in slight relief. An enthroned Christ, inscribed ΙΧ̅ || [Χ̅C], occupies the center of the composition. The forehead has been partly destroyed and the hair has lost much of its surface paint (fig. 98). The face, which shows a fine crackle, is meticulously executed with subtle gradations of color and high-lighted accents. The beard is, as usual, parted into two lobes and combed from left to right, very much like the beard of St. Theodore Stratelates on the east wall. Christ's garments, which are all of a brown-ochre color, were painted in two stages. The earlier stage (which is not merely a preliminary sketch since it is fully modelled) is visible on both shoulders and along the left edge of the figure down to the bolster of the throne. Over this was laid a second coat of paint with a web of fine *chrysographia* in yellow-ochre. The fold-lines indicated on the upper layer of paint do not always correspond to those of the lower layer.

Christ blesses with his right hand and rests his left on a Gospel book. The book, drawn in reverse perspective, has an elaborately decorated cover with traces of gilding. In the center of the cover is a diamond with a little circle attached to each corner, the whole outlined with pearls. A number of larger pearls and blue stones, both round and oval, are set into the cover. The edge of the leaves is red. There are two clasps with a herring-bone design on them as well as a black place marker halfway up the vertical side of the cover.

Christ sits on a dark brown bolster with yellow patches on its two ends. His feet (only part of the right sandalled foot remains) rest on a red-brown footstool which has a decorated band at its base, inset with square stones. The throne, which is of the same color as Christ's garments, i.e., golden brown, is shown entirely in a vertical plane without any attempt at structure or per-

¹⁶⁷ Reproduced by Hadjiioannou, after p. 218 (detail); Soteriou, *Μνημεία*, pl. 73.

spective. The seat of the throne gives the appearance of being supported not on posts, but on a solid block. This block is divided into six bands of repeating ornament consisting of a fleur-de-lys flanked by curving leaves. The veins on the leaves are painted in yellow-ochre. The floral bands are separated from one another by narrow strips decorated with three rows of pearls and dark stones set by means of claws into yellow mounts. The seat of the throne, shown in vertical projection, has two rows of the same floral pattern. The seat as well as the base are outlined with a string of pearls set in spaced-out groups of four.

The Virgin Mary, inscribed $\tilde{M}\tilde{P} \parallel \tilde{\Theta}V$, is disproportionately tall and narrow. The face is largely destroyed, the surviving parts showing the same kind of treatment and fine crackle as Christ's face. The Virgin stands in a three-quarter pose with both hands stretched out towards Christ. She wears a blue tunic, the cuffs edged with yellow-ochre stripes and each decorated with a diamond. The *maphorion* is purple-red with a double yellow border along the hem to which are attached long pendent tassels. There is a yellow diamond on each shoulder. The border surrounding the face and neck was gilded, and there was a large diamond, probably also gilded, in the middle of the hood over the forehead. The tiny shoes are purple-red.

The figure of the Baptist has lost most of its surface paint. He wore a brown-ochre tunic and a chlamys of nearly the same color which appears to have been fleecy, judging by a small remnant near the right wrist: what we see of the garments today is largely underpainting. St. John stands with both hands stretched out towards Christ. His long brown hair and unkempt beard are moderately well preserved and are painted in meticulous detail (fig. 99).

Neophytos, without a halo, kneels down in the lower left corner of the composition and grasps Christ's right foot with both hands (fig. 95). He wears a dark brown (raw umber) mantle and a tunic which appears to have been of a lighter brown color, but has lost most of its surface paint. The two feet have been almost obliterated. Neophytos has grey-brown hair with a tonsure on the crown of his head, a drooping moustache entirely covering his mouth, a long beard, arched eyebrows, and large eyes with light brown irises (fig. 96). Next to Neophytos is an open scroll inscribed as follows in narrow ornamental letters between horizontal rulings (fig. 97):

+ Μ(ητ)ρικαῖς Χ(ριστ)ἔ λιταῖς καὶ | βαπτιστοῦ σου·
 θρόνῳ σου | σεπτῶ σεφθῶς παρισταμέν(ων)¹⁶⁸
 θεῖῳ σου ποδὶ ἱκετικῶς | κειμένῳ·
 ἴλεως ἔσω | νῦν καὶ εἰς τοῦς αἰῶνας

That is: "By the prayers of Thy Mother and Thy Baptist who stand reverently by Thy holy throne, be Thou merciful, O Christ, now and for evermore to him that lies a suppliant at Thy divine foot."

¹⁶⁸ Tsiknopoullos in ΚΣ, XVI (1952), p. 43; "Αγ. Νεόφυτος, p. 119, divides ΣΕΠΤΩΣ ΕΦΘΩΣ in line 2; likewise in *Encleistra*, p. 33 f., where he translates "who stand by Thy throne venerably and in a chaste mood." We are unable, however, to extract any meaning from the word ΕΦΘΩΣ. Cf. *supra*, note 74.

The entire Deesis panel shows evidence of extensive alteration. In the first place, the inscription is not original, as has been already pointed out by Indianos and Thomson:¹⁶⁹ it covers in part a much larger inscription which seems to have been in nine lines and to have measured about 0.40 m. high by 0.68 wide, thus occupying the entire lower right-hand corner of the composition (cf. fig. 101). Only a few letters of the original inscription can now be deciphered, not nearly enough to yield any meaning: in the first line ρ.υ., in the second only ρ, at the end of the seventh ε Χ(ριστὸ)ν ε, in the eighth [πρε]σβεια κααυαπ, in the ninth ω[σ]ώλων at the beginning of the line and a star at the end. The shape of the letters, especially of the Z and of the ω (with a little loop in the middle) is quite similar to that of the two other long inscriptions in the Cell (cf. figs. 84, 104).

Furthermore, all four figures have been to a greater or lesser extent changed. The crown of Neophytos' head was at first 1.5 cm. higher (fig. 96); the surplus area was then covered with a thin layer of gesso and painted out in red, the color of Christ's footstool. The fold of Neophytos' mantle that falls over his right arm originally extended 2 cm. further to the right: it was then painted out in green, the color of the ground. The original heads of both Christ and the Virgin appear to have been cut out and repainted on new patches of plaster. Christ's nimbus was struck twice in slightly different positions (fig. 98), and the entire figure was not only given a different drapery treatment, as we have already noted, but was also widened all round. In the process of widening the area of Christ's legs, the painter applied three patches of gesso over the previously finished throne: the most prominent of these forms an acute triangle above Neophytos' head, while the other two are to the right of the figure. The gesso now shows white since the paint that was laid over it has mostly come off. The halo of the Virgin was struck three times in different positions, and her figure was widened on both sides, although the added width has subsequently peeled away. Both the Virgin's hands were painted twice, first with shorter and then with longer fingers. The Baptist's halo was struck twice; his right hand was first drawn closer to Christ, then moved back about 2 cm. The meaning of these alterations will be discussed in due course.¹⁷⁰

Two small areas of loss in the green ground on either side of the throne (they show as white patches in fig. 93) were found to contain the points of wooden pegs. These were probably used for the suspension of two lamps above the Saint's desk.

Below the Deesis the wall forms a shallow recess that arches over the desk (fig. 82). In the middle of this recess is painted a brown cross with three horizontal bars (fig. 101). The cross is contained in a circular glory (diameter 0.63 m.) consisting of three concentric rings, the innermost one deep red, the middle one light grey, and the outer one white. The formula ἸϞ || ΧϞ || VI(δ)C || ΘΥ is inscribed over the central red circle. The background of the recess is light green to a height of 0.21 m. and yellow-ochre above. Along the upper

¹⁶⁹ P. 188f.

¹⁷⁰ *Infra*, p. 196.

rim runs the following rather faint inscription (length of first line 0.92 m.; height of letters 2.8 cm.) in black letters: + ἰστορίθ [gap of 0.26 m.] λείστρα διὰ χειρ[ος] ἐμ[ο]ν Θεοδώρου του Αψεудους | [ἐτ]εὶ ἄχ' (ἰνδικτιῶνος) α', that is, "The Enkleistra . . . was painted by the hand of Theodore Apseudes in the year 6691, indiction 1."¹⁷¹

To the right of the Deesis the wall forms an irregular arch that opens into the tomb chamber. On the face of this arch, in what may be loosely described as the left spandrel, is painted *a medical saint*, now badly mutilated (fig. 103), the remaining space having been occupied by a metrical epitaph. The saint (maximum preserved height 0.66 m., width as preserved 0.41), who may have been St. Cosmas or Panteleemon, is attired in a light green tunic and a red-purple chlamys. In his left hand he holds an ochre medicine box with a half-opened pyramidal lid. The right hand, which is in front of the breast, probably held a lancet. The upper layer of paint has to a large extent peeled off both from the figure and from the background.

The fragmentary inscription to the right of the medical saint (fig. 104) is written in black capital letters about 3 cm. high over a white background. Only the second half of each of the four verses remains, enough to tell us that this was an epitaph in which Neophytos was represented as speaking in the first person:

----- λ]ῖθοστροτον ταφον
 ----- με συνκείμε λιθῶ
 ----- ατικά βουλήσει
 ----- νες λάας οὕτως¹⁷²

To the right of the inscription is an ornamental cross which was originally painted red.

The tomb chamber (fig. 105) is decorated on three sides. On the left (west) the arched ceiling bears a *Crucifixion* (width of panel 0.64 m., maximum preserved height 0.97), now badly damaged (fig. 106). Christ's slumped figure, marked as usual [Ι̅C̅] || Χ̅C̅, has lost the face and the legs below the knees. The

¹⁷¹ Indianos and Thomson, who discovered this inscription, may have seen it somewhat better preserved than it is today. Their copy of it (p. 187) is as follows: ΑΝΙΣΤΟΡΙΘΙ (—20 cm.—) Ο ΠΑΝΣΕΙΠΤΟΣ ΝΑΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΓΚΛΕΙΣΤΡΑΣ ΔΙΑ ΧΕΙΡΟΣ ΕΜΟΥ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΛΗΕΥΔΟΥΣ | [Ε]Ν [Ε]ΤΕΙ ἄχ' Α[ΜΗ]Ν. Unfortunately, this transcription does not inspire any confidence. The first word, insofar as we could read the very faint letters, is ἰστορίθ[η], not ανιστορίθι. After the Θ there follows a gap of 26 cm. corresponding to about fifteen letter-spaces; this is followed by λείστρα, i.e., [ἐκ]λείστρα, not ἐγκλείστρας. If Indianos and Thomson are right in indicating a lacuna of 20 cm., they could not have read after it ὁ πάνσεπτος νῶς, since there is no room for these words; presumably, this was meant to be their conjectural restoration of the lacuna. Even so, this restoration is impossible, since ἐγκλείστρα is in the nominative. Something like ἰστορίθ[η] ἡ ὀνομαζομένη ἐκ]λείστρα would fill up the required number of letter spaces. A. and J. Stylianos have published the inscription twice. In *Jahrb. d. Österr. Byzant. Gesellschaft*, IX (1960), p. 99, they read [. . . ΚΑΙ] ΕΙΣΤ(Ο)Ρ(Ο ΓΡ)Α (ΦΗΘΗ) ΔΙΑ ΧΕΙΡΟΣ ΕΜΟΥ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΑΨΕΥΔΟΥΣ | [Ε]ΤΕΙ ἄχ' Α[ΔΑΜ]. In ΚΣ, XXVI (1962), p. 132, they have changed the text to: [. . . ΙΣΤΟΡΗΘΗ ΤΕΛΕΙΩΣ Η ΕΓΚΛ]ΕΙΣΤΡΑ ΔΙΑ ΧΕΙΡΟΣ ΕΜΟΥ, etc. The second version, inspired by the wording of the *Typikon*, is preferable; even so, τελείως is rather too short to fill up the observable gap. The end of the inscription (fig. 102) has been misinterpreted by all previous editors: the *annus mundi* is followed by Ν which is the usual abbreviation for ἰνδικτιῶνος. Then comes a horizontal bar denoting a numeral, and below it what is probably the top serif of an *alpha*.

¹⁷² Tsiknopoullos in ΚΣ, XVI (1952), p. 43; *Αγ. Νεόφυτος, p. 121; *Encleistra*, p. 36, offers a conjectural restoration of the missing portion which we prefer not to adopt.

loincloth, white with blue fold-lines, is treated very much as in the Crucifixion on the south wall of the Cell (cf. fig. 89). The cross, once again, is painted in three shades of brown in parallel stripes, and has a white skull at its foot. The Virgin Mary, her left arm folded over her breast, her right hand raised towards Christ, is dressed in a purple-red *maphorion* with yellow edging round the face and neck. St. John (only the abbreviation for ὁ ἅγιος remains over his head) wears a white tunic and a purplish pink chlamys draped over his left shoulder. He supports his bowed head on the palm of his right hand; with his left he holds a fold of his chlamys.

The back wall of the tomb chamber has been partly hollowed out to form a small niche (fig. 105). In the triangular space to the left of the niche is painted a cross in three shades of ochre. It stands on a strip of ochre ground with a green band at the base. The background is white. The niche is occupied by an enthroned *Virgin and Child between two bishops* (fig. 107). The Virgin, in a dark blue tunic and purple *maphorion*, is seated on an ochre throne upon which is placed a bolster of the same color. She supports the Child with her left hand, while in her right she holds a scroll inscribed: + πάρεσχε | λυσιν ὕμῃ | μου τῷ κειμένῳ + | .. δωμ. | .. φθεις, that is, "Grant, O my Son, remission to him that lies here" The final lines, separated as they are by a cross from the first four, represent Christ's answer: Indianos and Thomson¹⁷³ have read them, when they were evidently in a better state of preservation, as δίδωμι | κα[μ]φθεις | σα[ις] λιταῖς, that is, "I grant it, moved as I am by thy prayers." The Child, dressed in ochre garments, sits on his mother's left knee with his legs crossed, so that his right foot is turned heel outward, while the extended left foot is seen in profile. The Virgin's halo has been drawn twice in slightly different positions.

The bishop to the left of the Virgin has the sparse beard and bulbous head characteristic of St. John Chrysostom, an identification supported by faint traces of the letters ΙΩ to the left of the halo. He is dressed in an ochre *phainolion* and a white *omophorion* with black crosses on the shoulders. He faces away from the Virgin towards the Crucifixion. His right hand is raised with the palm outwards; in his left he holds a scroll inscribed: + Ξένον | θέαμα | Χ(ριστό)ν εστα[βρ]ωμ[ε]νον. | . . . , that is, "A strange sight [to behold is] Christ crucified." The halo, like that of the Virgin, has been struck twice. The bishop to the right of the Virgin is turned towards the Anastasis. His brown hair and full, pointed beard identify him as St. Basil. He wears a light brown *phainolion* and a white *omophorion* decorated with two quatrefoil crosses in black. His right hand is raised in blessing, while the left holds a scroll inscribed: + τη καθο[ρῶν] ἐξι[στασε] | σαφῶς | φράσε[ε] [or φράσον], that is, "Say clearly what it is that thou seest in amazement."

The *Anastasis* (figs. 108, 109),¹⁷⁴ labelled ἡ ἀγία ἀνάστασις in the top left corner, is painted to the right of the niche and curves round on to the east

¹⁷³ P. 190.

¹⁷⁴ Reproduced by Hadjiioannou, after p. 218; Soteriou, *Μνημεῖα*, pl. 66 (detail of David and Solomon); Megaw and Stylianos, *Cyprus* (as in note 2 *supra*), pl. xii (detail of Adam and Eve in color); Stylianos, *Painted Churches*, fig. 57.

wall of the tomb chamber (height of composition 0.85 m., deployed width 1.54). Christ, inscribed $\tilde{\text{IC}} \parallel \tilde{\text{XC}}$, is shown in swift motion, stepping up with his left foot over the crossed gates of Hell. His hands and feet are marked with the stigmata. With his right hand he raises Adam, while in his left he grasps a cross with three horizontal bars. The eyes and part of the head have been damaged. Christ wears a purple tunic and a light brown chlamys which forms swirling folds over the belly, passes under the right arm, and is swept up into the air as if blown by a strong wind. The usual locks and bolts are scattered over the chasm of Hell.

Adam, whom Christ raises by the left wrist, is shown kneeling on the front edge of a sarcophagus. He has greenish grey hair falling over his shoulders and a long beard. He is dressed in a pink tunic with a black stripe on his right shoulder, and a grey-green chlamys which falls billowing over his left arm and forms serpentine folds behind his right leg. Eve, completely enveloped in a light red mantle which also covers her two uplifted hands, rises up behind Adam. Her tunic, visible at the neck, is deep red.

David, Solomon, and St. John the Baptist stand all three inside the same sarcophagus to the right of Christ. David has grey hair and a short round beard. He looks towards Christ and raises his right hand in astonishment, palm outwards. His left arm is concealed beneath the chlamys which is deep purple and is decorated with two round shoulder patches and a *tablion*, all outlined with pearls. His tunic has a decorated cuff and a collar bordered with two rows of pearls. David wears a *kamelaukion* crown which is also set with pearls.

Solomon has wavy brown hair and is beardless. He looks away towards St. John the Baptist, his right hand over his breast, while the left is hidden underneath his chlamys. He wears a grey-green tunic with collar and cuff decorated with pearls, a light red chlamys with round shoulder patches also trimmed with pearls, and a *kamelaukion* crown set with pearls and precious stones.

St. John the Baptist, inscribed $[\delta \ \alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma \ \iota\omega\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\varsigma] \ \delta \ \Pi\rho\acute{o}\delta\rho\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$ (in the usual monogram), has brown hair falling over his shoulders and a beard divided into several wavy strands. The head is destroyed from the eyes up. He wears a light brown tunic with a black clavus on the right shoulder and a voluminous brown-green chlamys draped in a classical manner. With both hands he holds a scroll bearing the same inscription as in the Naos: $[\tilde{\text{I}}]\delta\epsilon \ \delta\nu \mid \epsilon\text{ΙΠΠΟΝ} \mid \nu\mu\text{ΙΝ} \mid \sigma\tau[\text{I}] \ \xi[\rho] \mid [\chi\epsilon]\tau[\alpha\text{I}] \dots$, that is, "Behold him of whom I have said that he cometh [to free you from the bonds of Hell]."

Pots and Tubes

Nine earthenware pots and one tube are embedded in the walls and ceiling of the Cell, and twelve pots and one tube in those of the Bema. There are none in the Naos. They were set with their open tops about level with the surface and were all *in situ* before the plaster rendering was applied. The pots all have necks about 3 cm. in diameter and are about 15 cm. deep, except for three in

the Bema which have necks 4 cm. in diameter and are 26 cm. in depth. The pipe in the Cell is 5 cm. in diameter, 36 cm. long and opens into a cavity 47 cm. deep; that in the Bema is 7.5 cm. in diameter and 26 cm. long.

All the pots and tubes are so placed as not to disturb the composition of the paintings and, with the sole exception of one in the lower part of the garments of St. Michael standing beside Neophytos (fig. 66), are all either in the red borders separating the compositions or in the backgrounds. Their purpose may have been to reduce the resonance in the small enclosed spaces of the Cell and Bema. In the Naos, the presence of an open shaft in the ceiling and the comparatively larger interior made this device unnecessary.

6. THE REFECTORY

The room which we have identified as the Refectory is the largest in the Enkleistra complex: trapezoid in plan, it is 7.75 m. long on its far side and 3.50 wide. Entrance is gained through a door in the middle of the east wall. This door is surmounted by a lunette, to the south of which is a little window with a perforated grille. With the exception of the east wall, which is constructed, the Refectory has been cut out of the rock. There are a number of alcoves at waist level: one at the southeast corner, two at the southwest corner, a long one forming a kind of sideboard at the north end of the west wall, and a rectangular one, separated by a shelf into two spaces, in the east wall, to the north of the door. At the north end of the east wall there is a further recess at a lower level into which a round earthenware pot has been built. The rectangular masonry table placed on the longitudinal axis of the room is modern.

The Refectory was paved and in part replastered in 1950.¹⁷⁵ In earlier times it appears to have been used by shepherds who lit fires in it, with the result that the walls and ceiling were covered with a layer of black soot. The frescoes which have survived in a fragmentary condition on the east, south, and west walls as well as in part of the ceiling (fig. 110) were heretofore almost invisible.

East Wall: Between the entrance door and the southeast corner of the room there appear to have been originally four standing figures: three of these have survived in a highly ruined condition. Apparently, they were monks holding scrolls in their left hands and small white crosses in their right hands. The color of their garments can no longer be ascertained since the surface paint has disappeared.

The southernmost figure is the best preserved: it is of a white-bearded saint. His name has disappeared, leaving only the letter Ε to the right of the halo. The inscription on his scroll was in eight lines. The following letters can be deciphered: . . . | β . . ν . . | . . . ν β . | . α σ ε π τ . | π ρ ο σ α . . | λ ο υ σ . τ | σ ι α ς | + . The second saint from the corner was in the same attitude as the first. On the scroll he holds there were seven lines of writing: | . . γ ι . . . | κ ε . . . | ε ρ ή μ . . | κ ε . ε ν . . | ρ ι ς ξ υ . . | ὁ γ ι ο ι ς . . | + . All we can say of the third saint is that he, too, held an inscribed

¹⁷⁵ *Annual Report of the Director of Antiquities for the Year 1950* (Nicosia, 1951), p. 12, No. 34.

scroll. The alcove in the southeast corner of the room was frescoed on the inside: in the middle of it are traces of a painted cross.

South Wall: The lower part of the wall to a height of 0.97 m. was occupied by a painted dado consisting of circular medallions having a black serrated border. The medallions appear to have been alternately mottled red and black; the background is yellow-ochre. Beginning under the alcove in the southeast corner of the room five medallions have been preserved.

Above the dado is a monumental painting of the *enthroned Madonna between two archangels* (height of panel 1.95 m.), now unfortunately mutilated and crisscrossed with scratches and graffiti (fig. 111). The composition is placed a little off-center; when complete, it would have left a space about 0.70 m. wide at the west end of the wall which was occupied, at least in part, by an inscription. This asymmetry is probably due to the presence of an alcove at the right-hand extremity of the wall (fig. 110).

The Virgin, now headless, wears a grey-blue tunic, each of its cuffs decorated with two broad stripes and a Maltese cross in yellow-ochre. The *maphorion* is purple, high-lighted with a luminous blue. It has a double yellow border visible on the left shoulder and along the lower hem, where it forms a tubular fold between the legs. The shoes were red and decorated with little clusters of pearls. The Virgin places her right hand over the Child's right knee, her left hand over his left leg.

The head, hands, and feet of the Child have been obliterated. Part of the nimbus remains, with one arm of the cross, which is white, decorated with pearls. The cross was drawn in perspective, the "thickness" of it being painted blue. The Child wears a light blue tunic and a yellow-ochre himation. His right hand was raised in blessing, while the left held a scroll.

The throne is rather similar to the one in the Deesis of the Cell (cf. fig. 94), but designed with a greater awareness of perspective. The one surviving post is painted in yellow- and brown-ochre. Its front side is divided into square panels, each containing a stylized leaf motif. The panels are separated from one another by a jewelled band with a square stone in the middle of the band, and two or three rows of pearls. Halfway up the post there is a receding slat. The footstool, drawn in nearly normal foreshortening, has a yellow-ochre top and a brown front side decorated with square stones and four rows of pearls. The seat of the throne is encrusted with square and round stones and with pearls. Upon the seat is placed a red bolster with yellow-ochre patches on its two ends. The back of the throne consists of a narrow jewelled frame, the sides of which are slightly convex. From the top of the frame is suspended a light green fabric decorated with red and grey fleurs-de-lys. The fabric is draped over the bolster and hangs down over the front of the seat.

The archangel on the spectator's left is now headless. In his disproportionately small right hand he holds a red staff, while his left arm extends behind the Virgin's throne. He wears a red *divitision* decorated along the lower hem with a jewelled border and two corner appliques. The *divitision* has ochre cuffs and a narrow round collar trimmed with pearls. A yellow-ochre *loros*

decorated with a diaper pattern is wound round the body in a somewhat implausible fashion, so that it hangs down in front, covers both shoulders, is drawn across the waist (gaining considerably in width) and is finally thrown over the right forearm which is hidden behind the throne. The *loros* has a blue lining decorated with a band of white embroidery. The diamonds forming the diaper pattern appear to have been gilded; so was the archangel's halo. The *loros* has a border set with red and blue square stones and three lines of pearls. The surviving right wing is red with yellow "veins;" the inside feathers are white and red. The archangel on the spectator's right has almost completely disappeared: his right foot and part of his garments are all that remain.

At the west end of the south wall, next to the top red border, are faint traces of an inscription on the blue background. The following letters, in three lines, may be made out: ...ευρωλε. | ... κ(αι) υ... | ... παναγγε... |

West Wall (figs. 112, 113): As in the Naos, the entire wall appears to have been occupied by a row of standing monastic saints. Proceeding from left to right, we encounter the following meager remnants of figures:

1. Only the outline of the halo remains. To the left of it, the title $\delta [\alpha] \gamma \iota \omicron \varsigma$ is written in a vertical line, below which there was the saint's name in a horizontal line: it is, however, illegible.

2. The top part of the halo and the underpainting of the crown of the head are all that remain. To the left of the halo one can barely read $\omicron | [\alpha] \gamma \iota \omicron \varsigma | \dots \delta \dots | \omicron \nu \dots$

3. Only a small segment of the halo is preserved. To the left of it one can make out only the letter A. Next to No. 3 there is room for a fourth figure which has completely disappeared.

5. Part of the halo and of the left shoulder and traces of white hair. To the right of the halo only the final (?) letter of the name remains, which is N.

6. This, relatively speaking, is the best preserved figure. The saint was bearded and had white hair. He wore a khaki-brown mantle and held a small slender white cross in his right hand (fig. 113, center). To the left of the halo are the letters $\omicron \alpha \gamma \omicron$ in a vertical line, i.e., $\delta \alpha \gamma \iota \omicron \varsigma$.

7. This saint, too, had a beard and white hair (fig. 113 on the right). The garments are red-brown. To the left of the halo is written $\delta \alpha \gamma \iota \omicron \varsigma$, to the right $\iota | \sigma . | \kappa \upsilon$ ('Ισαάκιος?).

8. Only a small segment of the halo remains. To the left of it is the usual abbreviation for $\delta \delta \gamma \iota \omicron \varsigma$.

9. Part of the right shoulder in a red-brown garment.

Ceiling: Above the row of standing saints on the west wall there are two layers of fresco in a highly ruined condition. The upper layer which, for the most part, is what we see today, appears to be a single composition which extends, so far as it is preserved, 3.96 m. starting from the south corner (maximum surviving height 0.93 m.).

On the extreme left, a man, preserved from the waist down, is lying on a white couch (fig. 112). He wears a short green tunic having a yellow-ochre

border trimmed with one row of pearls; brown hose decorated with a diaper pattern in pearls; and ochre boots reaching up to the calf. A draped figure, possibly an angel, is bending over the recumbent man. The ground below the couch is brown with a sprinkling of white dots. The lower stratum of fresco, uniform with the standing saints below, is, wherever visible in this area, of an even green color.

To the right of the recumbent man is a procession of animals moving from left to right. First we see two brown paws furnished with white claws (fig. 112 on the right); further to the right part of the brown body of another animal; then the belly and two front legs of a panther (?), its body bespattered with little black circles; then a tall brown animal with slender legs and cloven hooves; finally, the hind legs of another animal with brown claws. The animals appear to be walking on some kind of vegetation indicated by white strokes. A little above the ground line are several flowers with white petals (fig. 113). It has been suggested that this representation pertains to the life of St. Mamas.¹⁷⁶

Roughly in the middle of the western incline of the ceiling a portion of the lower stratum of painting is visible (fig. 113, center). It consists of a vertical red border, to the left of which are schematically indicated grey waves, and, above the water, a curving red outline, perhaps of a mountain.¹⁷⁷

In the southeast corner of the ceiling are parts of three medallions containing *busts of prophets*. These pertain to the original decoration of the Refectory. The first medallion from the south (fig. 114 on the left) was about 0.60 m. in diameter when complete. The prophet, whose eyes have been scratched out, has a domed head, long reddish brown hair, and a pointed beard. He wears a faded pink tunic with white accents and traces of a double black clavus on the right shoulder. The right hand is raised in blessing. To the left of the halo is the inscription ο πρ(οφήτης) forming the usual monogram. The background of the medallion is red, overpainted with black round the rim.

The second medallion (fig. 114, center), containing the bust of the prophet *Elijah*, has a grey-blue background. Elijah has a pointed beard and white hair falling down to his shoulders and forming a flower-shaped tuft over the middle of his forehead. His chlamys is pale grey with white accents. In the right-hand part of the medallion is the inscription Ἠλίας.

The third medallion (fig. 114 on the right) has lost most of its surface paint, especially on the prophet's face. The prophet was bearded and had long, white hair. His right hand is raised in blessing. The color of his garments cannot now be determined. The background of the medallion is of a faded pink color. On the left side is the abbreviated inscription δ πρ(οφήτης).

The circular medallions are placed side by side on a yellow-ochre field decorated with a stylized ivy motif. The indentation between every two

¹⁷⁶ Tsiknopoullos, "Αγ. Νεόφυτος, p. 124. Such a scene does not, however, appear in the known iconography of St. Mamas, on which see A. Marava-Hatzinikolaou, 'Ο ἅγιος Μάμας (Athens, 1953), p. 86 ff.

¹⁷⁷ It is impossible to determine the subject of this painting. It may have represented, e.g., the Flood, the Miraculous Draught of Fishes, or even a scene from the life of St. Nicholas.

touching medallions is filled with a big heart-shaped leaf having a green center and white tadpole-like veins, the border of the leaf being half black, half white. The big leaves are joined together by a convoluted stem sprouting smaller green or black leaves. The treatment of this vine is rather similar to that of the stylized vegetation in the *Noli me tangere* scene (fig. 36) and the scroll over the iconostasis (fig. 50).

7. THE HAGIASTERION

This tiny room, measuring about 2 m. across and 2.10 m. in height, is reached through a small rectangular opening visible on figures 3 and 4 directly above the roof of the *skevophylakion*. The plan of the *hagiasterion* is shown in figure D (fold-out plate at end of plate section). A rectangular shaft (0.48 × 0.43 m.), to which we have already referred, is cut through the floor of the *hagiasterion* and opens into the Naos. The sides of this shaft are constructed of small stones and are frescoed (fig. 22). On the west side of the *hagiasterion* (fig. 115) is a niche (height 1.10 m.) almost at floor level decorated with red and yellow zigzags forming a chevron pattern. Above the niche is part of a rinceau design in yellow-ochre. Immediately to the right of this is an alcove (height 0.54 m.; the sill is 1.05 m. above floor level) which is plastered and decorated on the inside with three "Russian" crosses, one in the middle and one on each side. Each cross has at its center point a green crown of thorns. The central cross is flanked on the right by a yellow sponge on a reed and, on the left, by a red spear. At the back of the alcove is a further little recess (height 0.20 m.) which is likewise decorated with a "Russian" cross bearing a green crown of thorns. The purpose of the alcove is made clear by Neophytos who states (*supra*, p. 134) that he partook of the eucharistic elements in the *hagiasterion*.

To the right of the alcove is a small fragment of a standing figure wearing brown garments. It is placed on a band of green ground, above which the background is blue.

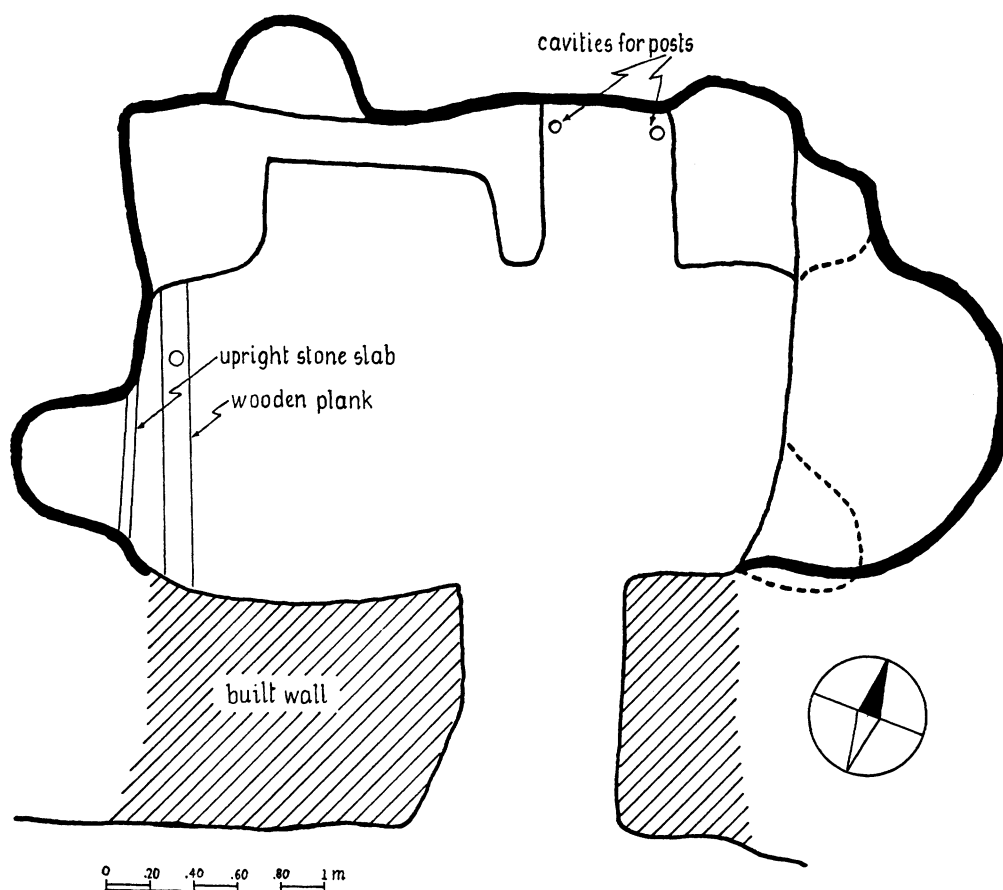
8. THE NEW ZION

Above the *hagiasterion* are the remains of the Cell which Neophytos excavated for himself in 1197. In the early years of this century its front wall was still preserved, but a fall of rock on the south side of it had opened the cell to the elements.¹⁷⁸ The front wall subsequently collapsed and was rebuilt in 1964 (compare figs. 3 and 4). The cell is about 2.75 m. wide. Along its south wall is a bench or couch (1.60 m. long in its present condition) built of irregular stones (fig. 117). On the right-hand (north) side of the cell is a tiny patch of fresco representing a "Russian" cross in yellow-ochre on a white background (fig. 116). As before, the cross bears a crown of thorns. To the right is the sponge on a reed, to the left a spear. In the top right quarter is the initial $\tilde{\kappa}$ (read $\sigma\tau\alpha\upsilon\rho\acute{o}\varsigma\ \kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$, or something to that effect). There is a vertical border on either side of the cross.

¹⁷⁸ Hadjiioannou, p. 70 and pl. after p. 16.

9. THE CAVE OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST

This room, rediscovered in 1953,¹⁷⁹ appears to be indicated on Barskij's drawing (fig. 2). It is situated more or less above the Refectory at a height of 7.85 m. above the level of the terrace. The outer wall is modern; so is the ceiling. The room is almost rectangular, 2.90 m. long from east to west and 2.20 m. wide (fig. B). Along the back wall is a series of plastered bench-like



B. Cave of St. John the Baptist, Ground Plan

projections. These could have been used for sleeping on only if wooden planks were laid over them. In the southwest corner is a recess closed by a stone slab. The north side is hollowed out to form a little apse, the floor of which is 1.25 m. above that of the nave.

The entire cave was originally plastered and painted white, the wall surface being subdivided into a number of panels by means of red borders. The east wall in front of the apse-like recess retains part of a design imitating marble inlay (fig. 118). Originally, this design consisted of five roundels, a larger one in the center, and four smaller ones placed tangentially to it. The central roundel is grey, the outer ones are red; each one is surrounded by a black saw-tooth border. On either side of this design a little semicircular niche has

¹⁷⁹ *Annual Report...for the Year 1953*, p. 13, No. 33.

been hollowed out of the wall. The niche on the right preserves its painted decoration consisting of three red crosses: a "leaved" cross in the center and plain ones on either side.

The floor of the cave is paved with stone slabs. Some of these had been pried up by visitors and in turning them over we found six inscribed fragments, five of which fitted together to yield the following text (fig. 119):

...χον̄ πρῶην κατ̄κισις
 ...ν̄· ἐγενάμιν δὲ συ κατοι
 ...ἐπηκέλιμε στ(αυ)ροῦ προ
 ...θηγίασμε τῇ θήα λητουρ
 ...νεκὸς· σῶμα τοῦ δεσ
 ...δοξα σοι λόγε ὁ οὕτως εὖ
 ...κησας· δόξα σοι Χ(ριστ)ε κτησ
 ...ποιητά μου· +

The sixth fragment, of very small size, bears the letters ρον̄ and below them two dots indicating the presence of an *iota* in the following line. The inscription is incised on a slab of local stone 2 cm. thick and, when complete, must have measured about 25 cm. square.

It is evident that the inscription is conceived in the usual Byzantine dodecasyllables, the end of each verse being marked by a dot half-way up the line. Starting with the three bottom lines of the inscription, we may readily restore the following two verses:

δόξα σοι, Λόγε, ὁ οὕτως εὖ[δο]κήσας,
 δόξα σοι, Χριστέ, κτίσ[τα καὶ] ποιητά μου.

This, incidentally, proves that the missing part is quite small. If it may be granted that the sixth fragment (the left-hand side of which has a straight edge) formed the beginning of the second line—and indeed it cannot be placed anywhere else—we may confidently restore the following text:

[+Ἔτυ]χον πρῶην κατοίκησις ὄρν[ίθων,]¹⁸⁰
 ἐγενάμην δὲ σὴ κατοι[κία, Λόγε.]
 Ἐπικέκλημαι Σταυροῦ προ[μάχου κλήσει,]¹⁸¹
 [κα]θηγίασμαι τῇ θεῖα λειτουργ[γία]
 [ἔ]χων διη[νεκῶς σῶμα τοῦ δεσ[πότου.]
 Δόξα σοι, Λόγε, ὁ οὕτως εὖ[δο]κήσας,
 δόξα σοι, Χριστέ, κτίσ[τα καὶ] ποιητά μου. +

That is: "I happened aforetime to be the dwelling-place of birds, but have now become Thy house, O Word.¹⁸² I am called by the name of the Cross,

¹⁸⁰ Cf. *Typikon*, fol. 16v, p. 8: ὁ [sc. τὸ σπήλαιον] ἦν ἔρημον καὶ διαφόρων ὀρνίθων ἀνάπαυλα, ἐμοὶ δὲ κατεφάνη ἐράσμιον, etc.

¹⁸¹ Cf. *Typikon*, chap. 5, p. 8: κέκληκα δὲ τὸ σπήλαιον κλήσει τοῦ τιμίου σταυροῦ, θυσιαστήριον πῆξας τῶν ἱερῶν τελετῶν.

¹⁸² Cf. *Vita Euthymii*, 8, ed. by Schwartz, p. 15: τὸ δὲ ἄντρον ἐκεῖνο κατοικητήριον ὑπῆρχεν θηρίων μὲν τὸ πρότερον, ἡμερωθέν δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς ὕμνοις καὶ ταῖς ἀπαύστοις τῶν ὁσίων ἀνδρῶν προσευχαῖς ἐκκλησίας θεοῦ ἀγιασθεῖαν ἐδέξατο.

our defender, I am consecrated to divine service, constantly having, as I do, the body of the Lord. Glory to Thee, O Word, who hast willed it so, glory to Thee, Christ, my maker and creator."¹⁸³

As the meaning makes clear, this is surely the dedication inscription of the church of the Holy Cross. The author of the poem, which is marred by several asyndeta, is doubtless Neophytos himself who is otherwise known to have been a prolific versifier. The missing parts of the inscription have been filled up by us with gypsum and the panel affixed, for safe preservation, to the north wall of the Bema underneath the fresco of the archangel Gabriel of the Annunciation.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE PAINTINGS, AND CONCLUSIONS

The wall paintings we have been describing fall readily into the following groups:

- i. Those of the Cell and Bema
- ii. Those of the Naos
- iii. Those of the Refectory (first layer)
- iv. Those of the Narthex, the second layer in the Refectory, and the repairs of 1503

The first two groups deserve, of course, the most attention. Recent scholars have rightly emphasized the stylistic difference between Group i and Group ii; the first, which has been called "neoclassical," is commonly dated to 1183; the second, characterized as "monastic," has been ascribed to the year 1196.¹⁸⁴ This view is not far from the truth; the truth, however, is not quite so simple.

i. The Paintings of the Cell and Bema

The dating of these frescoes rests on two pieces of documentary evidence. The first is the statement by Neophytos himself that "in the twenty-fourth year of my confinement [1159 + 24 = 1183] the Enkleistra was painted throughout (ιστορήθη τελείως ἡ ἐγκλείστρα)."¹⁸⁵ The second is the inscription of the painter Theodore Apseudes which gives the same date, 1182/3. The presence of two layers of fresco in the Cell now raises the question whether this date refers to the first or the second layer.

In attempting to answer this question, we may begin by examining the paintings of the Bema where the complication of a second stratum is not present. Now, it seems evident to us that these paintings (excepting the Pantocrator of 1503 and some minor alterations connected with the insertion of the iconostasis) are all contemporary. Moreover, those of the eastern bay (Ascension, Neophytos between two archangels, Hierarchs, Annunciation, and Christ Emmanuel) are manifestly by the same hand. We would not have chosen the adjective "neoclassical" to describe the style of these paintings;

¹⁸³ The inscription has been published by Tsiknopoullos in ΚΣ, XXVII (1963), p. 116; *id.*, *Enkleistra*, p. 28. Tsiknopoullos completes the initial word as [ἐλκ]χον.

¹⁸⁴ See esp. A. and J. Stylianou in ΚΣ, XXVI (1962), p. 131 ff.

¹⁸⁵ *Typikon*, chap. 5, p. 9.

on the contrary, we have before us the work of an artist in touch with the "rococo" manner which appears to have been evolved in Constantinople in the last quarter of the twelfth century.¹⁸⁶ The hallmark of this style is a serpentine agitation of drapery which confronts us here not only in figures that are in motion, such as the Gabriel of the Annunciation (fig. 73) and the two groups of apostles in the Ascension (figs. 64, 65), but even in figures that are at rest, such as the two archangels escorting Neophytos (fig. 66) and the very similar archangel of the Ascension (fig. 63). This mannerism is rather more attenuated here than it is in the church of the Virgin at Lagoudera (1192),¹⁸⁷ a monument to which the frescoes of the Bema offer a close resemblance, nor is it carried to the same excess as at Kurbinovo (1191) and the nearly contemporary church of the Anargyroi at Kastoria. Compared to the two Macedonian monuments, the paintings of the Bema are more refined, more "metropolitan": the lines in them flow easily, often producing the effect of a tinted pen-and-ink drawing, an effect that is accentuated by the occasional use of hatching in the place of shading (figs. 62, 72). Another characteristic of the Bema master is his predilection for light, clear colors, such as bright red, pink, and light green. The general impression is almost cheerful, except in the case of the monastic saints where the subject matter imposed a different "mode" on the artist; but there, too, the palette is relatively bright.

In terms of iconography, the decoration of the Bema is not confined to subjects that were traditionally reserved for the choir of a church. While the procession of bishops and the Ascension pertain specifically to the choir, the other paintings of the Bema, namely the Annunciation, and the row of monastic saints, are appropriate to the nave of a church. The same would be true of the Pantocrator if it were known that the painting of 1503 replaced an earlier one representing the same subject.

We may further observe that at the time when the Bema was first painted, the southern entrance into it, corresponding to the present opening of the iconostasis, was narrower than it is today. The figure of St. Nicholas (fig. 71) appears to have been originally full-length. It was, of course, for the very purpose of inserting the iconostasis that the opening was later enlarged. As a result, the legs of St. Nicholas had to be cut off, and the lower part of this figure as well as a small portion of St. Epiphanius' were patched up, as can still be clearly seen. The rinceau pattern on the reveal of the opening (figs. 52, 76, 77) dates from the same operation.

The conclusion one may draw from this evidence is that the Bema was decorated as an independent chapel before the Naos existed: yet Neophytos himself testifies that the Naos was carved out in 1183.

Turning now to the Cell, we may begin by summarizing our observations concerning the two stages of decoration. With the exception of the paintings

¹⁸⁶ Cf. E. Kitlinger, *I mosaici di Monreale* (Palermo, 1960), p. 82; Megaw, "Twelfth Century Frescoes," p. 257 ff.; K. Weitzmann, "Eine spätkomnenische Verkündigungssikone," *Festschrift Herbert von Einem* (Berlin, 1965), p. 299 ff.

¹⁸⁷ On which, see G. Soteriou in 'Αρχαιολ. Ἐφημ., 1953-4, pt. 1, p. 87 ff.; A. Stylianos, Αἱ τοιχογραφίαι τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Παναγίας Ἀράκου, Λαγουδερά, Πέπρ. τοῦ Θ' Διεθνoῦς Βυζαντ. Συνεδρίου, I (Athens, 1955), p. 459 ff.

in the tomb chamber and the prophets in the "dome,"¹⁸⁸ all the other figural paintings of the Cell have been altered in various ways. The standing military saints on the east wall and in the lower register of the south wall appear to have been simply overpainted: to what extent we are unable to say because of the fragmentary condition of these frescoes. In the case of St. Andrew Salos, the original painting was cut out and a new area of plaster was laid in preparation for the second painting. In the case of the Crucifixion, the earlier



C. South Wall of Cell. Approximate Restoration of Phase 1 Decoration

¹⁸⁸ The only alteration we have observed in the Prophets is the application of gilding and vermiculation over the collar and *segmenta* of Daniel: see *supra*, p. 173. This, however, need not be considered a later addition.

fresco was obliterated with a thin coat of gesso upon which was painted a more complex composition. In the alteration of the Deesis various techniques have been used. The heads of Christ and Mary were cut out and relaid. In the area of Christ's throne several small patches of gesso were applied to receive the new painting. The remaining changes were made by a process of overpainting: the originally very narrow figures of Christ and Mary were widened all round, Christ's garments were rendered in a more sumptuous manner, the position of Mary's and the Baptist's hands was altered and the earlier inscription obliterated. The overpainting must have been done *al secco* and subsequently flaked off in many places for lack of sufficient bond. The same explanation may account for the curious way in which the fresco of the medical saint (fig. 103) has peeled off: although there is no trace here of an earlier composition, we may suppose that the existing figure was painted on dry plaster that may previously have received a uniform tone.

The most extensive alterations, as we have seen, were carried out on the south wall of the Cell. In figure C we have attempted to reconstruct the decoration of this wall as it appeared in Phase 1. In terms of over-all composition, it had a more unified character than the present decoration. The large half-figure to the left of the Crucifixion made a suitable pendant to St. Andrew Salos, thus continuing at approximately the same level and scale the frieze of military saints on the east wall. This unity was decidedly spoilt when the upper register of the south wall was repainted to include a greater number of figures on a smaller scale.

So very little is now visible of Phase 1 decoration, that no valid judgment of it is possible. Nevertheless, it appears to us that it was of rather mediocre quality and that it was painted in inexpensive colors (we have found no trace of either blue or gold in Phase 1). We further believe that this decoration did not embrace the entire Cell: the paintings of the tomb chamber, as we shall see presently, are of Phase 2, and the same applies, in our judgment, to the prophets in the "dome." The reason for the alteration may have been simply the desire on the part of Neophytos or of the bishop of Paphos (see *infra*) to give the Enkleistra a higher-class and more extensive decoration.

The paintings of Phase 2 are, in our opinion, homogeneous in themselves (except, perhaps, for the figure of St. Andrew Salos)¹⁸⁹ and attributable to the same hand as the decoration of the Bema. Some specific similarities we have already pointed out: the figure in royal vestments to the left of the Crucifixion (fig. 90) is identical in pose, treatment, and coloring with the archangels of the Bema (figs. 63, 66); the wall which forms the backdrop of the Crucifixion (fig. 89 on the left) has the same row of upturned corbels, drawn in perspective, as the Annunciation (fig. 72 on the left). We may add that the tunic of Mary Magdalen, also in the Crucifixion, falls in the same inflated folds that we have encountered several times in the Bema; that the head of the Prophet Daniel

¹⁸⁹ This figure, which seems to have been rather hastily executed, does not have the firmness of line observable in the other paintings of the Cell. It cannot, however, be ascribed to a later date since half the centurion's "shield" overlaps its border (fig. 92).

is similar to those of the archangels in the Bema (cf. figs. 83 and 67); and that the curious pear-shaped fold which defines the left shoulder of St. Nicholas (fig. 71) is repeated on the left shoulder of St. Procopius (?) (fig. 88).

Now, the "signature" of Theodore Apseudes must refer either to Phase 1 or to Phase 2. If it refers to Phase 1, then Phase 2 must be later than the year 1183. We have seen, however, that Phase 2 in the Cell is integral with the paintings of the Bema, and that the Bema could not have been decorated after 1183. It follows from this that Theodore Apseudes was responsible both for Phase 2 in the Cell and for the decoration of the Bema, which agrees with the statement of Neophytos that in the year 1183 the Enkleistra was painted *throughout*: exactly so, seeing that Phase 1 decoration was only partial.

We see no reason for not ascribing to Theodore Apseudes the paintings of the tomb chamber as well.¹⁹⁰ The small Crucifixion (fig. 106), damaged as it is, offers obvious points of resemblance with the larger Crucifixion above the south door of the Cell (fig. 89). The treatment of the loincloth is identical in both cases. So are the curve of Christ's body, the indication of stomach muscles, and the line of the legs. The cross is painted in both cases in parallel stripes of three shades of brown. Compare, too, the treatment of St. John's left hand in the two Crucifixions. In the Anastasis (fig. 108) the drapery of both Christ and Adam has those characteristic serpentine folds that we have encountered in the Bema. Eve's face in the Anastasis is remarkably similar to that of the Virgin Mary in the Bema Ascension (fig. 63). The palette is once more clear and bright, and we find in Adam's vestments the same combination of pink and light green as in the Gabriel of the Annunciation. The varnished appearance and slightly yellowish cast of the paintings in the tomb are probably due to the fact that countless pilgrims have rubbed their hands over them.

The tomb chamber does present, however, a problem of a different nature. In the *Typikon* of 1214, i.e., shortly before his death, Neophytos laid down specific instructions for his interment. He wished to be covered with the burial clothes which he himself had woven several years previously and had deposited in a coffin made of pine, cedar, and cypress wood, in other words of the same materials as the True Cross. The monks were then to pull down the wall of the tomb so as to place the coffin in the cavity, and thereupon rebuild the same wall. The small opening which had previously existed there was to be entirely blocked up and an icon representing any appropriate subject was to be painted in the place of the opening: in this way strangers would not even know that there was a tomb inside.¹⁹¹ The purpose of these instructions was that Neophytos, who had chosen quietude during his lifetime, was likewise anxious to be left undisturbed after his death until the last trumpet called him to meet his Lord.

¹⁹⁰ In this respect we feel compelled to disagree with Megaw, "Twelfth Century Frescoes," p. 259, whose study, it is true, was written prior to the cleaning of the frescoes.

¹⁹¹ *Typikon*, fols. 80^v-81^r, p. 36f.: χαλάσαντες δὲ τὸν τοῖχον τοῦ τάφου πρὸς εἰσέλευσιν τοῦ κιβωτίου, καὶ μέλλοντες πάλιν αὐτὸν ἀνακτίσαι, μὴ ἐάσητε πάλιν θυρίδιον κατὰ τὸ πρότερον, ἀλλὰ παντελῶς αὐτὸ κατακλείσατε, καὶ ἐξωθεν ὅπου τὸ θυρίδιον προῆν, ἱστορήσατε εἰκόνα οἷαν ὁ Κύριος ὑμῖν κατὰ διάνοιαν δῶ· καὶ οὕτω τὸν τόπον οἰκοδομήσατε, ὥς πολλοὺς τῶν ξένων ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι τάφος ἐνδὸν ἀπόκειται.

It follows from this that the paintings in the tomb were not intended to be seen at all. They could not have been clearly visible during Neophytos' lifetime since the "little door" in the wall was not wide enough for the insertion of the coffin: the whole wall had to be demolished for this purpose and then rebuilt without any opening. After this, the paintings would naturally remain totally sealed off—an arrangement more pharaonic than Byzantine. If, however, Neophytos was so anxious to conceal from strangers the very existence of his tomb, we may well ask why there is a metrical epitaph on the face of it. A possible answer to this would be to say that the epitaph was added at a later date by the monastic community; yet its lettering is exactly the same as that of the other inscriptions of the Cell. We suspect, therefore, that the epitaph was composed by Neophytos himself in preparation for his demise: he intended it to be in "high style" (note the Homeric word *ἄσας*), but the atrocious spelling rather spoils the effect. In his death as also in his life, Neophytos, it would seem, was unable to reconcile the opposite attractions of quietude and notoriety.

ii. The Paintings of the Naos

The rigid and sombre paintings of the Naos offer a strong contrast to those of the Bema and Cell. Iconographically, there is some duplication: there is, once more, an Ascension in the "dome," a second Crucifixion appears as part of the Passion cycle (setting aside the Crucifixion in the tomb chamber which, as we have seen, was not intended to be viewed), and there is, once again, a row of holy monks on the west wall—a different set, to be sure, except for St. Euthymius who makes a second appearance. The recess which contained the relic of the Holy Cross, though not separated from the nave, was treated as a kind of sanctuary with ministering angels and standing bishops, i.e., pictures that normally pertained to the choir.

Disregarding the repairs of 1503, the paintings of the Naos are, in our opinion, all by the same hand except perhaps for two figures only, those of Christ to the right of the iconostasis and St. Stephen the Younger to the left of it.¹⁹² The principal master of the Naos owed nothing to the "rococo" phase of late twelfth-century painting: he was rooted in a different tradition which may be called "Comnenian provincial" or the "linear style."¹⁹³ Comparison with the Lamentation of Koutsovendi (fig. 120) which, though undated, is surely earlier, shows us the antecedents of this style in Cyprus. The manner of the Naos painter is characterized by monotony of facial expressions, stiffness of attitudes, and the application of color in flat superimposed patches. Hair and beards are rendered in hard parallel lines, white on grey or yellow-ochre on brown. White is used very extensively to highlight both faces and drapery and to outline objects, e.g., the cross in the Crucifixion. Furthermore, the

¹⁹² Megaw, "Twelfth Century Frescoes," p. 260, assigns the monastic saints on the west wall (except for Sts. Paisius and Stephen the Younger) to assistants, the rest of the decoration to the master in charge. A. and J. Stylianou in *KΣ*, XXVI (1962), p. 132, speak of "several hands."

¹⁹³ Cf. V. N. Lazarev, "Živopis' XI–XII vekov v Makedonii," XII^e Congrès Internat. des Etudes Byzant., Ohrid, 1961, *Rapports*, V, p. 124 ff.

painter shows a predilection for enclosing groups of figures or even single figures within the outline of hills which look like stratified geological formations seen in cross section and are sometimes topped by convoluted pinnacles. This device, which is common in the painting of the second half of the twelfth century,¹⁹⁴ is, however, used so mechanically here, and the hills themselves are so unconvincingly represented,¹⁹⁵ that instead of unifying the compositions it serves rather to disrupt them.

The figures of St. Stephen the Younger (fig. 41) and the enthroned Christ (fig. 44) differ in several respects from the rest of the decoration. The execution, if rather pedantic and lifeless, is extremely meticulous and great care has been lavished on decorative detail. The drapery shows some attempt at shading instead of the superimposition of contrasting patches of color. The rather formal lettering on St. Stephen's scroll (fig. 43) differs from that on the scrolls of all the other monastic saints (a specimen of the latter is reproduced in fig. 42). On the other hand, there are certain points of similarity between the two figures in question and the other paintings of the Naos: the ornamental treatment of St. Stephen's ears¹⁹⁶ is shared by the other monks, and the same may be said of his beard, although it is rendered in finer lines; the drawing of Christ's right hand is similar to that of the left hand of St. Andronicus (fig. 39). Since Christ's figure is surrounded by a belt of loss, it offers no common boundary with the frescoes to the right of it and above it; but in the case of St. Stephen we can be certain that he was painted after his neighbor, St. Paisius.¹⁹⁷

It is easy to understand why the two images of Christ and St. Stephen should have been singled out for more careful treatment than the other paintings of the Naos. In the period that concerns us, i.e., ca. 1200, the normal form of a Byzantine *templon* was that of a colonnaded screen without any icons in the intercolumniations. The spaces on either side of the central door were closed off by means of decorated slabs reaching up to about half (or less) the height of the *templon*, but the gaps between the top of these slabs and the architrave were left free. Apart from the row of small icons that was sometimes attached to the architrave, the images specifically pertaining to the *templon* (normally Christ on the right and the Virgin on the left) were placed on the walls or piers flanking the screen.¹⁹⁸ The same was surely the case here, so that the figures of Christ and St. Stephen may be regarded as *templon* "icons." It is perhaps as a concession to his location to the left of the *templon* (the space usually reserved for the Virgin) that St. Stephen holds an image of the Virgin and Child rather than one of Christ, as he usually does in other church deco-

¹⁹⁴ Cf. O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (London, 1950), p. 418f.; Kitzinger, *I mosaici di Monreale*, p. 92.

¹⁹⁵ Indianos and Thomson, p. 168, did not even realize that these were hills: they mistook them for mandorlas.

¹⁹⁶ On the stylization of ears, cf. A. Xyngopoulos in *Ἀρχαϊολ. Ἐφημ.*, 1957 (1961), p. 21f.; A. Orlandos in *Cahiers archéologiques*, XII (1962), p. 301.

¹⁹⁷ See *supra*, p. 157.

¹⁹⁸ See A. Grabar in *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog Instituta*, VII (1961), p. 20ff.; V. Lazarev in *Δελτίον τῆς Χριστ. Ἀρχαϊολ. Ἑταιρ.*, 4th Ser., IV (1964), p. 130ff.

rations.¹⁹⁹ It is difficult to tell whether the two figures we have been discussing were executed by the same painter as were the other frescoes of the Naos, but with much greater attention, or by a different painter. They are, in any case, contemporary with the rest of the decoration, though they must have been made last of all: not only was St. Stephen painted after St. Paisius, but the interlace border next to the architrave of the *templon* was also executed after the Passion scenes that are above it.

The Naos paintings have been dated to 1196 on the strength of the sixteenth-century inscription in the southwest corner.²⁰⁰ It is argued that the present inscription replaces an earlier one which gave the date in question,²⁰¹ but there is no evidence for this view. Besides, in stating that "the most-holy church of the . . . Cross was hewn out, built and painted" in the year 1196, the inscription is at fault: the Naos was, in fact, hewn out in 1183. It is quite possible that the date 1196 is merely based on an incorrect calculation made in 1503.

The key to this problem is provided by the shaft in the ceiling of the Naos. This shaft, as we have said, was made for the convenience of Neophytos who wished to listen to the services conducted in the church without being obliged to come down the cliff; in other words, the shaft could not have been made before 1197 when Neophytos moved up to the New Zion. The question now arises whether the shaft was cut through an existing painting, as has been assumed heretofore, or whether the Ascension was painted to accommodate the shaft.

The accepted view would undoubtedly be correct if the shaft left no room for the figure of the ascending Christ. This, however, is not the case: as we have attempted to show in figure 19, there does exist room for Christ. Setting aside the dubious propriety of punching a large hole through the most important part of the Ascension, the following reasons force us to suppose that the painting was made after the shaft had been cut through. In the first place, the rock is very friable so that the making of the aperture would have been, in any case, a hazardous operation and might have brought down a considerable part of the ceiling. The actual hole through the rock is surely larger than it appears to the eye, since all four sides of the shaft are carefully constructed with stones. Yet the surviving fresco comes to within about 7 cm. of the opening and shows no evidence of restoration. In fact, what is left of the Ascension, except for the apostles' feet at the far south end which pertain to the repair of 1503, is entirely homogeneous and of a piece with the other

¹⁹⁹ As, in St. Clement at Ochrid, St. Nicholas Orphanos at Thessalonica (A. Xyngopoulos, *Οἱ τοιχογραφίες τοῦ Ἁγίου Νικολάου Ὁρφανοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης* [Athens, 1964], p. 23 f. and fig. 159), at Psača (*Monumenta serbica artis mediaevalis*, I/1 [Belgrade, 1933], p. 56 and pl. x), and in several Athonite decorations (Lavra, Dionysiou, Dochiariou: see *supra*, note 123). In the eleventh century St. Stephen was commonly represented holding a diptych with an image of the Virgin on one side, of Christ on the other: so in the Psalter of 1066 in the British Museum, reproduced by Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin*, fig. 141; Paris. gr. 580: H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibl. Nat.* (Paris, 1929), pl. cii. The latter type also appears in the Church of the Virgin at Studenica.

²⁰⁰ See *supra*, p. 140.

²⁰¹ A. and J. Stylianos in *ΚΣ*, XXVI (1962), p. 132 f.

paintings of the Naos. The condition of the Ascension would have been quite different had Neophytos broken a large hole through it, and had then proceeded, as he would surely have done, to relocate the mandorla of the ascending Christ. It follows from this that both the Ascension and all the other paintings of the Naos are not earlier than the year 1197.

Having established a *terminus post quem*, we must admit that there exists no definite *terminus ante quem*. While it is true that in provincial areas the Comnenian style of painting persisted for a long time, in places until the early fourteenth century,²⁰² we see no compelling reason to date the decoration of the Naos very much later than 1197. It is unlikely, furthermore, that Neophytos would have been satisfied to leave the Naos undecorated. We should like, therefore, to suggest a date of *ca.* 1200 for all the original paintings of the Naos, in which case the portrait of the nameless monk (fig. 48) would almost surely represent Neophytos himself. Comparison with his two other portraits (figs. 68, 96) makes this a likely supposition: the distinguishing characteristics, namely the long beard and moustache nearly covering the mouth, the flowing hair, straight nose, and deep set eyes are sufficiently alike to support this identification. We could hardly expect a more consistent rendering from two different Byzantine painters.

Before leaving the Naos we ought to consider the icons of Christ and the Virgin (figs. 54–59). These have been mistakenly attributed to the late sixteenth century.²⁰³ In our opinion, they ought to be dated in the early thirteenth, quite possibly in the lifetime of Neophytos. Note in particular the “wish-bone” formation of the root of the Virgin’s nose, the right angle between her nose and her right eyebrow, the circumflex shape of her eyes, the calligraphic purity of the lines—characteristics that may be matched in some of the finest icons of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, e.g., the Vladimir-Suzdal Deesis in the Tretiakov Gallery²⁰⁴ and the somewhat later Belozersk Madonna now in Leningrad.²⁰⁵ The latter icon has also a series of small, circular medallions on the raised rim, disposed in the same fashion as the incised circles on the frames of both of our icons (these are unfortunately invisible on our reproductions).^{205a} Christ does not have that exuberance of hair which is a constant feature of Palaeologan representations. The *chrysographia* on his garments—thin lines radiating from little pools of light—has none of that ornamental over-elaboration it so often exhibits by the middle of the thirteenth century. The character of the lettering on both icons is perfectly appropriate

²⁰² Good examples of this survival are provided by the churches of St. Demetrius at Makrychori (1303) and the Theotokos at Oxyliothos (early fourteenth century), both in Euboea: A. S. Ioannou, *Βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες της Εύβοίας*, I (Athens, 1959), pls. 14 ff., 36 ff.

²⁰³ R. Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus* (London, 1936), p. 201; Indianos and Thomson, p. 161.

²⁰⁴ V. Lazarev in *Arte Veneta*, X (1956), p. 9 ff.; V. I. Antonova and N. E. Mneva, *Katalog drevnerusskoi zhivopisi* (Tretiakov Gallery), I (Moscow, 1963), figs. 11 ff., 22 ff. An even closer parallel is provided by the Virgin of the Crucifixion at Studenica (1209): Millet and Frolow, *La peinture du moyen âge en Yougoslavie*, I, pl. 38 (3).

²⁰⁵ V. Lazarev, *Iskusstvo Novgoroda* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1947), p. 47 and pl. 35.

^{205a} A similar use of incised circles may be seen on the frame of the icon of Sts. Catherine and Marina on Mount Sinai, attributed to the eleventh century: G. and M. Soteriou, *Εικόνες της μονής Σινᾶ*, I (Athens, 1956), fig. 50; II (1958), p. 68.

to a date not far removed from 1200 and is, in fact almost identical with that of the frescoes of the Enkleistra: note in particular the right-angle breathings (in the Palaeologan period they tend to form acute angles or to be curved), the shape of the *rho* with a small loop, prominent serif, and slight inclination to the right, the *phi* with its central loop flattened at the bottom (cf. the name of the Prophet Jeremiah in fig. 24), the *gamma* with its circumflex top. On Christ's Gospel book (fig. 53) note the initial *delta* which has the same shape as in the inscription of Theodore Apseudes (fig. 102), not that of Δ which becomes prevalent already in the thirteenth century. In the word πρὸς in the second line of the left column the first two letters are joined thus ΠΡ, as also on the scroll of St. Stephen the Younger (fig. 43, line 1). The form of the word καί (with a cursive *alpha* placed above the line and joined to a capital *iota*)—a form that was admittedly used for a long period—occurs in the inscription of the Deesis (fig. 97, lines 1 and 6), at Lagoudera,²⁰⁶ and other contemporary monuments. As for the band of ornament at the base of both icons, we may quote at random a parallel at Arilje (ca. 1296).²⁰⁷

By no means provincial in style, both icons are works of excellent quality, among the very best that are still preserved in Cyprus. They might well have been commissioned by Neophytos himself and, when not used in processions, been placed in the *templon*, where they still stand today.

iii. *The Paintings of the Refectory*

The original paintings of the Refectory fall, broadly speaking, within the same period as the other paintings of the Enkleistra, i.e., ca. 1200, but they do not appear to be attributable to any of the hands we have encountered so far. Since the very fragmentary nature of these frescoes leaves little room for a stylistic analysis, we shall confine ourselves to a few details. The enthroned Virgin and Child is comparable in style and iconography to the one in the monastery of Patmos which Professor Orlandos dates 1210–1220.²⁰⁸ The acanthus leaf decoration of her throne is quite similar to that of the Deesis in the Cell. The dado of mock-marble roundels having a saw-tooth border also occurs in the Cell; it reappears at Lagoudera²⁰⁹ and other twelfth-century monuments.

The paintings of the *hagiasterion* and of the Cave of St. John the Baptist are too insignificant to call for any comment: they probably date from 1197 or a few years later.

iv. *The Later Paintings*

While we have not been specifically concerned with the study of the post-Byzantine paintings of the Enkleistra, a few comments may be offered here. The only dated portion of these later paintings is the restoration of the Naos

²⁰⁶ Megaw, "Twelfth Century Frescoes," fig. 15.

²⁰⁷ Z. Janc, *Ornamenti fresaka*, fig. 25. For the palmettes, cf. the ornament in a window reveal at St. George, Staraja Ladoga: Lazarev, *Freski Staroj Ladogi*, fig. 74.

²⁰⁸ *Cahiers archéologiques*, XII (1962), p. 285 ff. and fig. 3.

²⁰⁹ Stylianou, Παναγία τοῦ Ἀράκου (*supra*, note 187), pl. 150.

(1503), and we may confidently include in the same group the Pantocrator of the Bema. One characteristic feature of the 1503 frescoes is the absence of blue pigment: the backgrounds are black, and the most prominent colors used are a disagreeable light green, battleship grey, and bright red, in addition to yellow-ochre. Setting aside the painful ineptness of the compositions, we may notice the painter's penchant for Italianate architectural backgrounds and his insistence on outlining doors, windows, cornices, and items of furniture with a linear border that is punctuated at frequent intervals with little rounded excrescences.

The frescoes of the narthex, which are of somewhat higher quality, offer a striking similarity to those in the choir of the *katholikon*. Without going into undue detail on this score, we may note that the floral motif in the spandrel next to St. Gregory Theologos (figs. 8, 10) is repeated in the *katholikon* (fig. 121); that the *omophorion* of Sts. Gregory Theologos and Nicholas (fig. 11) is folded in the same way and has exactly the same crosses as that of St. Timothy in the *katholikon* (lower half of fig. 121), that the Gospel book which St. Timothy holds has the same heart-shaped ornaments as the book of St. Gregory of Nyssa (?) in the Narthex (fig. 13); that, as we have already indicated,²¹⁰ there are, both in the narthex and in the *katholikon*, ornamental bands having green and yellow stripes running through their length. Unfortunately, the paintings of the *katholikon* are not dated; indeed, we do not even know when the *katholikon* was built.²¹¹ Previous investigators have come to the conclusion that the frescoes of the *katholikon* fall into two groups: those of the choir have been dated in the late fifteenth or sixteenth century, while the Akathistos cycle in the vault of the north aisle has been assigned to the first half of the fifteenth and has been compared—in our opinion rather unconvincingly—to the paintings of the Peribleptos and the Pantanassa at Mistra. For our part, we are inclined to believe that all the frescoes of the *katholikon* are more or less contemporary and that their date is not far removed from 1500.²¹² If this were so, might one not suppose that the *katholikon* itself was built at approximately the same period by the very monk Neophytos (d. 1512) who, as we have seen, is styled in his obit the new *ktitor* of the monastery?

The second layer of painting in the Refectory would appear to pertain to the same time, say *ca.* 1500.

²¹⁰ *Supra*, note 84.

²¹¹ Tsiknopoullos, "Αγ. Νεόφυτος" p. 49ff., dates the *katholikon* to *ca.* 1435, but this is mere conjecture. Hadjiioannou, p. 76, reports that there used to be an inscription over the west door of the *katholikon* which, after the British occupation of Cyprus (1878), was removed and effaced by the then Abbot Gregory who feared that the church might be converted to Protestant worship. Hadjiioannou further notes the presence of the dates 1549 and 1606 written in Arabic numerals on the exterior of the apse. The former of these might have served as a *terminus ante quem*. Hadjiioannou suggests, however, that these dates were forged by the same Abbot Gregory "because such an action was considered conducive to the safeguarding of the monks' rights over the church and dispelled the fear of the English." We must admit some difficulty in understanding the mentality of the Abbot Gregory.

²¹² They offer some similarity to the frescoes of Panagia Podythou at Galata, dated 1502, which are, however, under stronger western influence. See A. and J. Stylianos in ΚΣ, XVIII (1954), p. 108ff.; *Painted Churches*, p. 49ff. For the painted ornament, cf. also the church of the Saviour at Paleochorio (undated, but ascribed to the second half of the fifteenth century): Stylianos, *Painted Churches*, p. 142ff.

We may now summarize the chronological results of our enquiry as follows:

Before 1183	Partial decoration of the Cell
1183	Decoration of the Bema, the Cell (second stratum) and the tomb chamber by Theodore Apseudes. Naos excavated, but not painted, perhaps in the latter part of the same year
After 1197	Decoration of the Naos and insertion of <i>templon</i> ; slight adjustments in the Bema; icons of Christ Philanthropos and Virgin Eleousa. Decoration of Refectory (first stratum) approximately contemporary, but not dated exactly
About 1500	Narthex remodelled and decorated; Refectory partially repainted
1503	Partial restoration of paintings in Naos and Bema.

In the foregoing discussion we have deliberately refrained from making a full stylistic analysis of the paintings of the Enkleistra in relation to other monuments. These paintings should, in the first instance, be compared to other twelfth-century decorations in Cyprus, but it would be premature to do so until a greater number of such decorations have been subjected to proper cleaning and investigation. Cyprus is particularly rich in painted churches of this period, ranging from Asinou (1105/6) and St. Chrysostomos (*ca.* 1115 or slightly earlier) to Lagoudera (1192), but so far only the tiny church at Perachorio (*ca.* 1160–1180) has been thoroughly studied.²¹³ It so happens, however, that stylistically Perachorio is not of direct relevance to the frescoes of St. Neophytos. Without trying to anticipate the insights which we may hope to achieve in the future, we should like to indicate very briefly the place occupied by these frescoes within a larger context.

The profusion of twelfth-century monuments in Cyprus was a by-product of the Crusades. From the time of its reconquest by Nicephorus Phocas in 965 to the revolt of Rhapsomates in 1092 the history of Cyprus is almost a blank; the same could be said of its artistic history. The island passed out of the field of war between Byzantium and Islam and, as a result, it ceased to be an object of concern for the imperial administration. It was in the reign of Alexius I that Cyprus regained its prominence as a base of operations against the Syrian coast, and with the establishment of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem its importance could only grow. The mere list of generals and governors whom Alexius dispatched to Cyprus—the Caesar John Ducas, Manuel Butumites, Eumathius Philocales, Constantine Catacalon—is proof enough of the value now attached to the island. The growth of political importance was in step with the setting up of ecclesiastical foundations: St. Chrysostomos at Koutsovendi (founded 1090),²¹⁴ Kykkos (foundation attributed to the general Butumites), Asinou,²¹⁵ Machairas (reign of Manuel I), and several more which, though not explicitly documented, must be attributed for archaeological

²¹³ See Megaw and Hawkins in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 16 (1962), p. 279 ff.

²¹⁴ See our remarks in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 18 (1964), p. 334.

²¹⁵ On the founder of Asinou, see J. Darrouzès in *KΣ*, XVII (1953), pp. 85 f., 93.

reasons to the twelfth century. What native artistic traditions survived in Cyprus by the end of the eleventh century it is now very difficult to tell; it is clear, in any case, that the reign of Alexius I inaugurated the influx into Cyprus of very good artists, in some cases, perhaps, artists from the capital. Comnenian painting was thus imported to the island and grew roots there. While contact with far-away Constantinople depended on the long tentacles of imperial government, Cyprus was naturally in much closer touch with the Holy Land and with the Anatolian coast. We have seen that when Neophytos decided to go abroad, he went in the first instance to Latin-occupied Palestine; dissatisfied with what he saw there, he intended to go to Asia Minor. His continued contact with the Holy Land is proved by an oration he composed on the subject of a monk in Palestine who was deceived by the devil in the year 1184.²¹⁶ We are not yet in a position to specify what artistic connections existed in the twelfth century between Cyprus and Palestine on the one hand, between Cyprus and Asia Minor on the other; but on historical grounds alone we are justified in seeking such connections.²¹⁷

In the normal course of events, a rustic saint like Neophytos could have commanded at best the services of a village painter. In fact, as he himself states, he had no interest in building activities, and that presumably applied to decoration as well. Neophytos, however, was discovered, befriended, and "promoted" by the bishop of Paphos, Basil Kinnamos. We know nothing of Basil except that he was a bishop from 1166 until after 1190; but he had a family name, and a well known one at that. The Kinnamos family was already prominent in the eleventh century and continued to be so until the fourteenth.²¹⁸ It would be natural to assume that Basil was related to his contemporary, the historian John Kinnamos who held the post of imperial secretary and had close connections with Manuel I. The Dumbarton Oaks Collection possesses the seal of a Basil Kinnamos which has been dated in the eleventh or twelfth century (reproduced here as fig. 123).²¹⁹ The inscription ((Γραφὸς σφραγίζω Κιννάμου Βασιλείου) does not, unfortunately, enable us to determine whether it belonged to our bishop before his ordination or to one of his kinsmen.

Since Basil Kinnamos was the moving spirit in setting up the Enkleistra as a monastery and since he probably had connections with the capital, it is reasonable to suppose that it was he who engaged a decent painter in the

²¹⁶ Ed. by H. Delehay in *AnBoll*, XXVI (1907), p. 162 ff.

²¹⁷ It may be appropriate to quote here the conclusion drawn by J. Darrouzès from his exhaustive study of Cypriot manuscripts: "...le pays avec lequel Chypre a eu le plus de relations après le X^e siècle est la Palestine. Le mouvement de livres que représente le nombre de manuscrits chypriotes à Jérusalem est dû aux relations entre monastères orthodoxes: ceux de Jérusalem avaient des métoques dans l'île et recrutaient des sujets dans sa population croyante. Chypre était aussi le refuge naturel des chrétiens de Syrie et de Cilicie menacés par l'Islam" (*REbyz*, XV [1957], p. 132). The frescoes of two caves on Mt. Latmos, both decorated with scenes from the life of Christ, show some similarity to those of the Enkleistra: Th. Wiegand, *Der Latmos* (Berlin, 1913), pls. VI-IX.

²¹⁸ A few details concerning the Kinnamos family may be found in Leo Allatius, *De Symeonum scriptis diatriba* (Paris, 1664), p. 149f. (who states that *Cinnamorum familia ad haec usque tempora non contemnenda in Graecia agnoscitur*), and in the Preface to the Bonn ed. of John Cinnamus, p. xxiii f. For the fourteenth century, see Cantacuzenus, Bonn ed., II, pp. 223, 549, 584, 599.

²¹⁹ Published by V. Laurent, *Les bulles métriques dans la sigillographie byzantine* (Athens, 1932), No. 605.

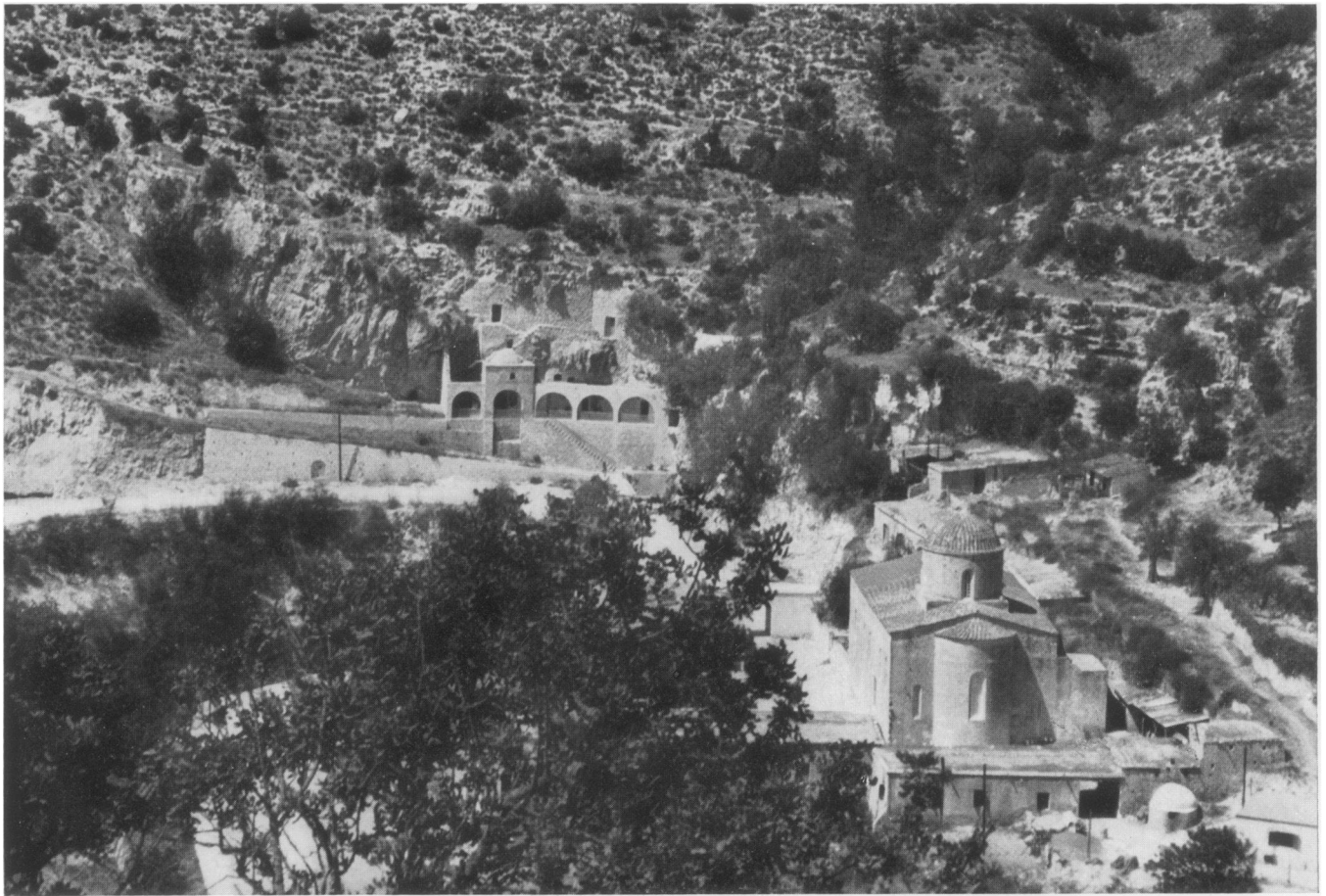
person of Theodore Apsoudes. Theodore was not a first-class artist—he was a little weak at compositions—and he may even have been a beginner at monumental painting. There is every reason to believe, however, that he was brought in from outside Cyprus. His acquaintance with the newest style of painting is an indication of this; another is that he signed his work. His “signature” is among the earliest on record in Byzantine monumental art, preceded only, if we are not mistaken, by those of Ephraem and Basil at Bethlehem of the year 1169.²²⁰ Theodore was not, however, the only metropolitan painter working in Cyprus at the time; another was the nameless artist who, probably trapped by political events, executed the decoration of Lagoudera in a style very close to Theodore’s one year after the conquest of Cyprus by Richard Lion Heart.

The paintings of the Naos, made about ten years after the conquest, show us the trend of Cypriot art after the connection with the Empire had been severed. It was by no means a cheap job—the amount of gilding is proof of this—and besides the monastery does not seem to have been lacking in funds at the time. What is instructive, therefore, is to see the painter reverting to the provincial Comnenian style of the mid-twelfth century, unaware of that fashionable “rococo” trend that had come and gone, leaving no mark on subsequent development. It is basically the same Comnenian *koine* that confronts us, in a further stage of fossilization, in the only dated monument of thirteenth-century painting in Cyprus, the village church of Moutoullas (1280).²²¹

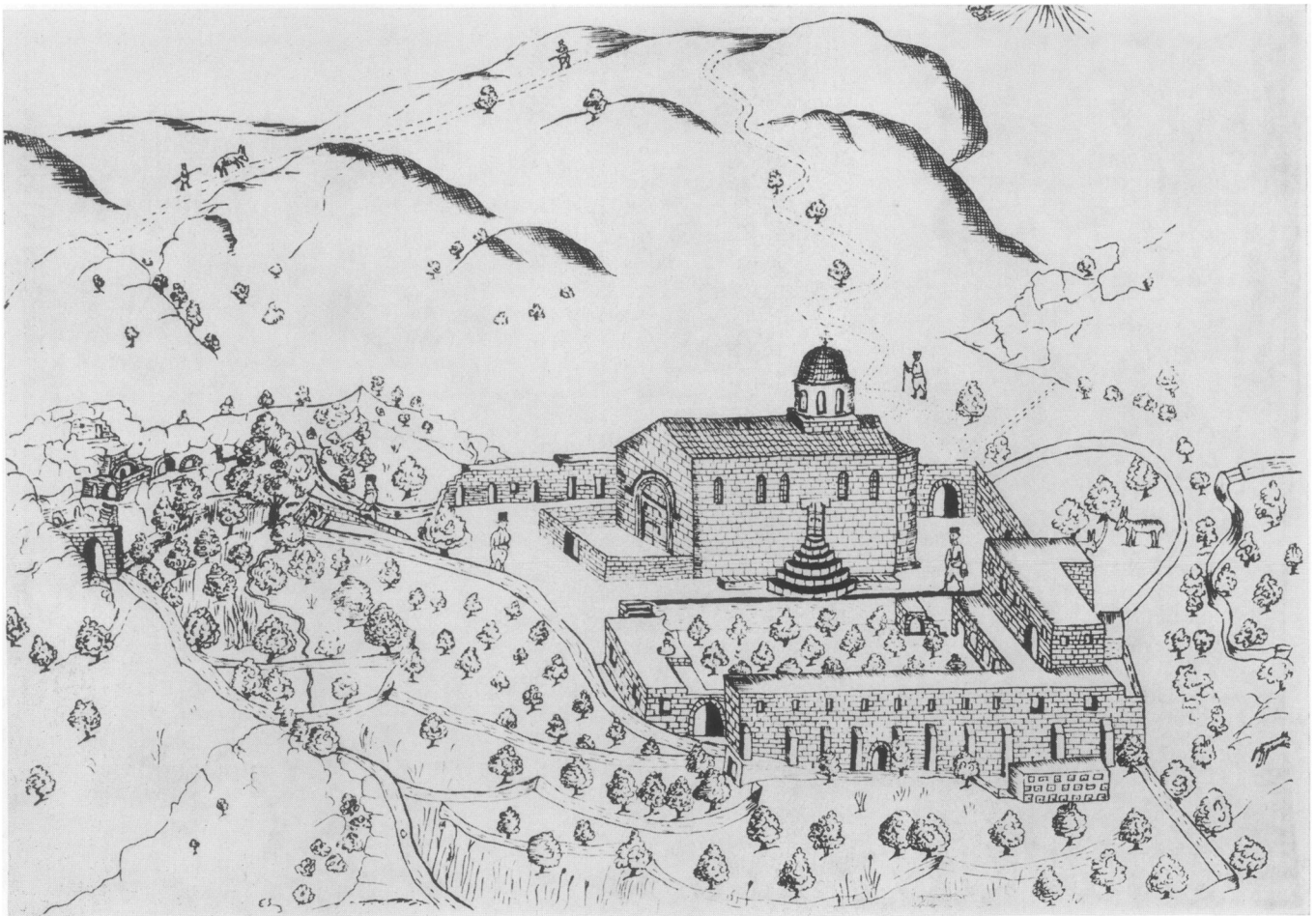
This is not, surely, the full story of painting in Cyprus during the thirteenth century. It is not too far-fetched to suppose that there developed on the island a Franco-Byzantine style which future investigations will reveal to us. On this question, however, the paintings of St. Neophytos can throw no light: what they do show us with remarkable clarity is the artistic situation immediately preceding and following the Latin conquest.

²²⁰ W. Harvey, W. R. Lethaby *et al.*, *The Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem* (London, 1910), pp. 34, 43f.

²²¹ Soteriou, Μνημεία, pls. 85–90; Megaw and Stylianos, *Cyprus* (as in note 2, *supra*), pl. xxiii; Stylianos, *Painted Churches*, p. 115ff.



1. The Monastery of St. Neophytos. General View from the East (1965)



2. The Monastery in 1735, as drawn by Barskij



3. 1963



4. 1965

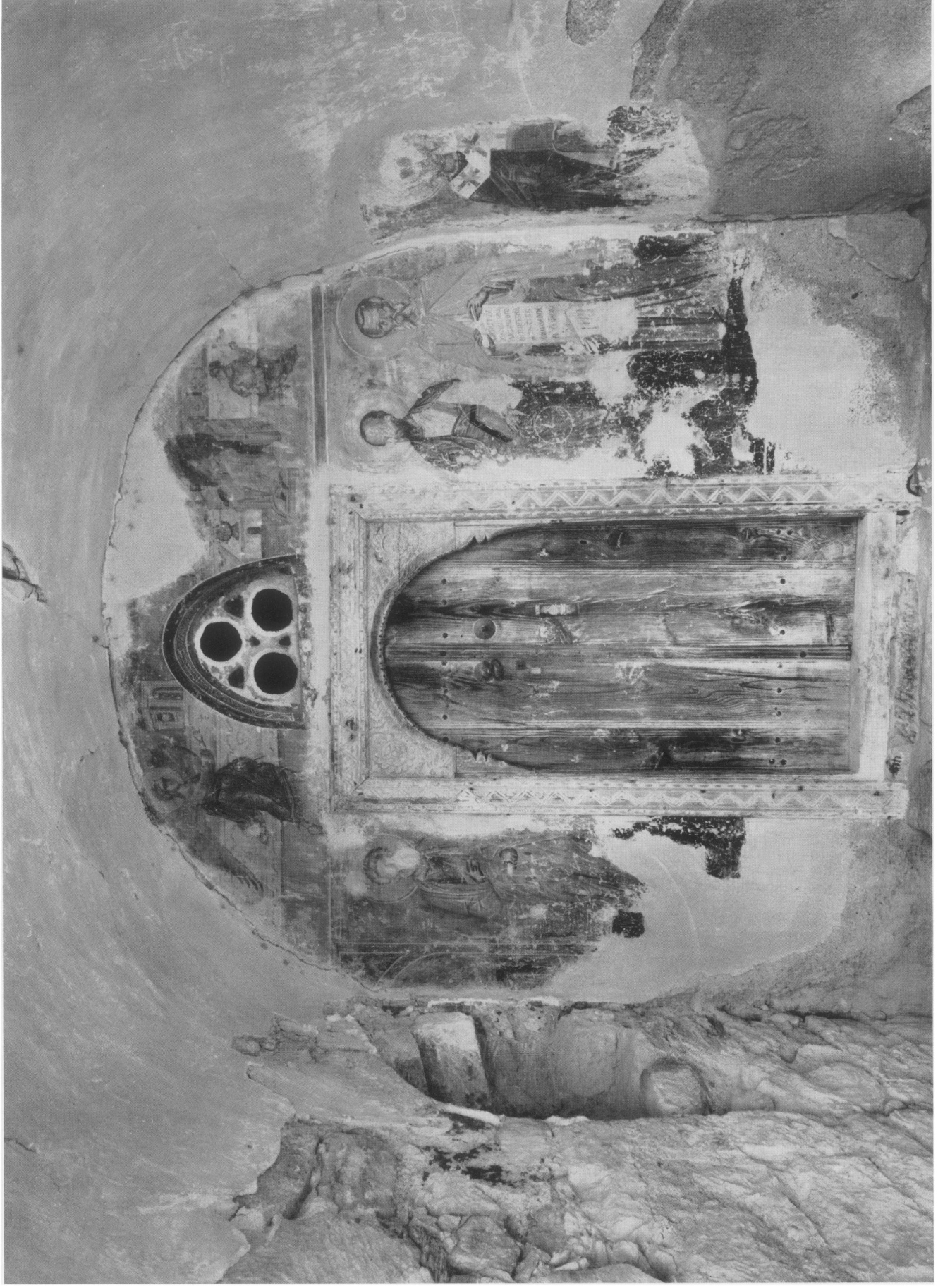
Cliff of Enkleistra, seen from the East



5. Terrace of Enkleistra, Arched Niches



6. Remains of Cell South of Narthex



7. Narthex, looking West (1963)



8. Sts. Gregory Nazianzen and Peter



9. Sts. Paul, Sabas, and Nicholas
Narthex, West Wall



10. West Wall. St. Gregory Nazianzen



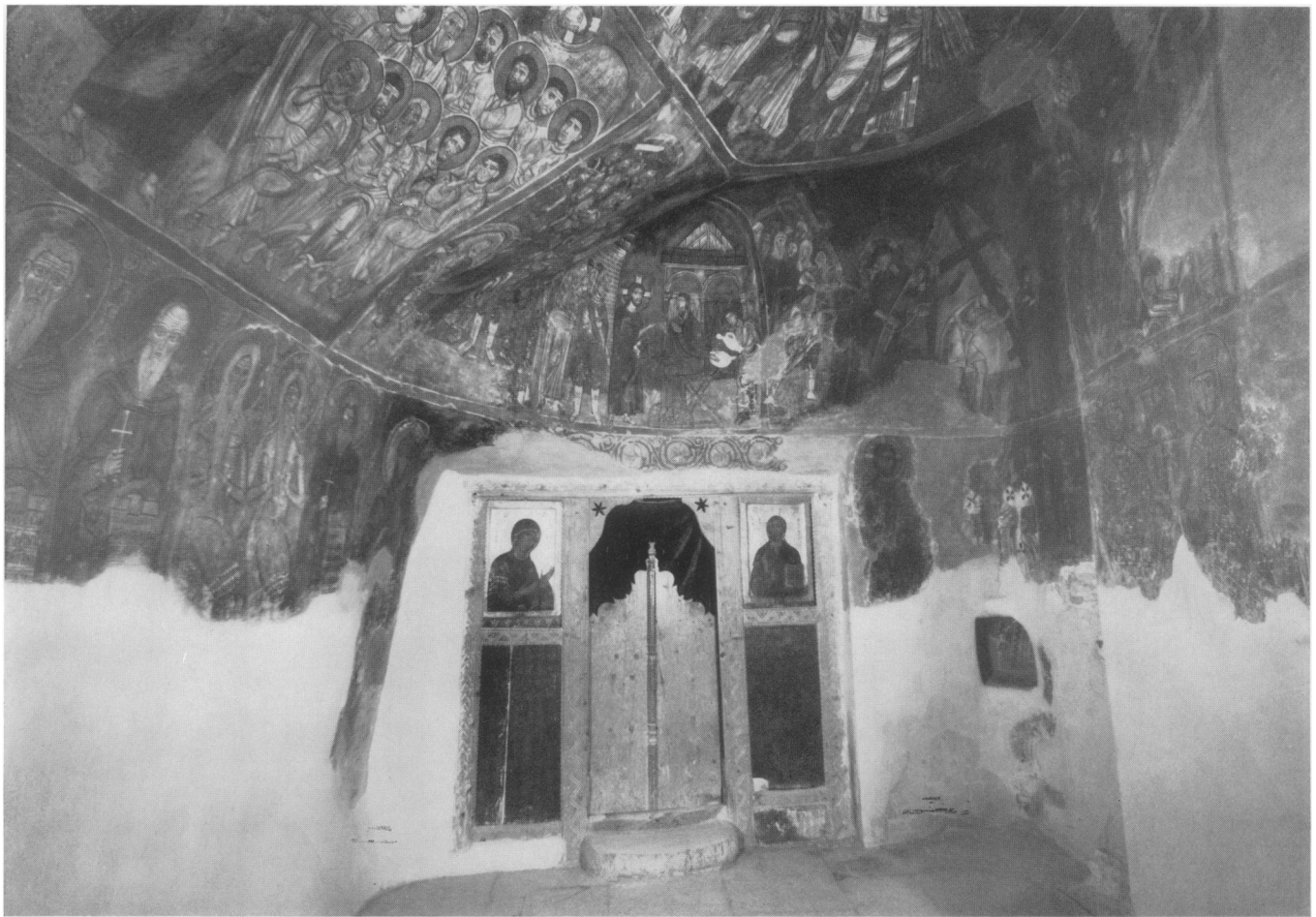
11. North Wall. St. Nicholas



12. West Wall. Detail of Annunciation
Narthex



13. Niche in South Wall. St. Gregory
of Nyssa (?)



14. Looking North



15. Looking Southwest
Naos



16. Looking Southeast



17. Southwest Corner. Inscription of 1503
Naos



18. Naos. Ascension



19. Ascension. Retouched photograph showing probable position of Ascending Christ



20. Ascension before Opening of Shaft
Naos



21. Naos. Ascension after Opening of Shaft



22. Shaft in the Ascension, seen from Below



23. Ascension, detail, Bird Nest

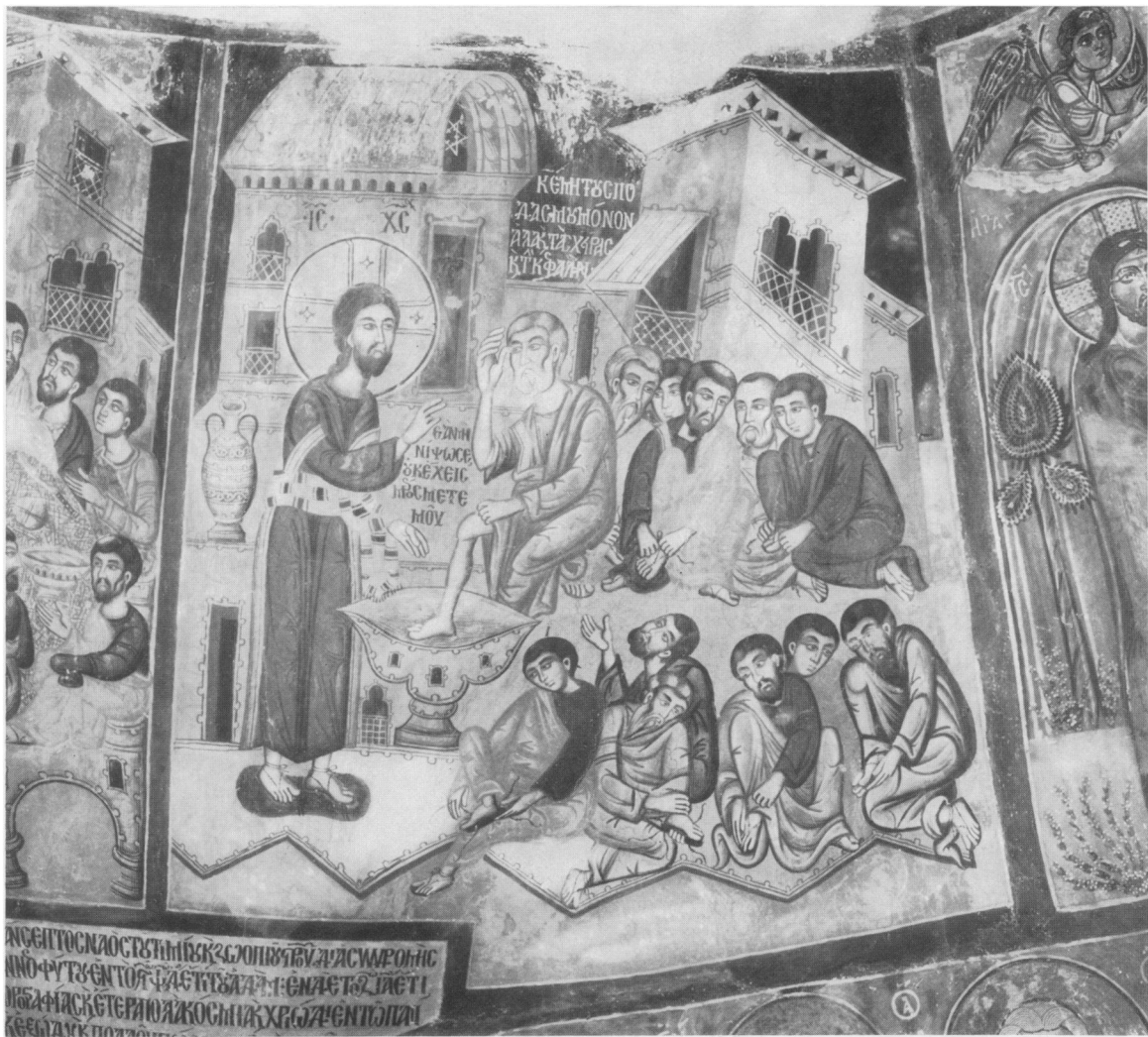


24. Prophets Moses, David, Isaiah, and Jeremiah

Naos



25. Last Supper



26. Naos. Washing of the Feet



27. Group of Soldiers on the Left



28. Group of Soldiers on the Right

Naos, Betrayal, details



29. Naos. Agony in the Garden and Betrayal



30. Christ before Pilate

Naos



31. Road to Calvary

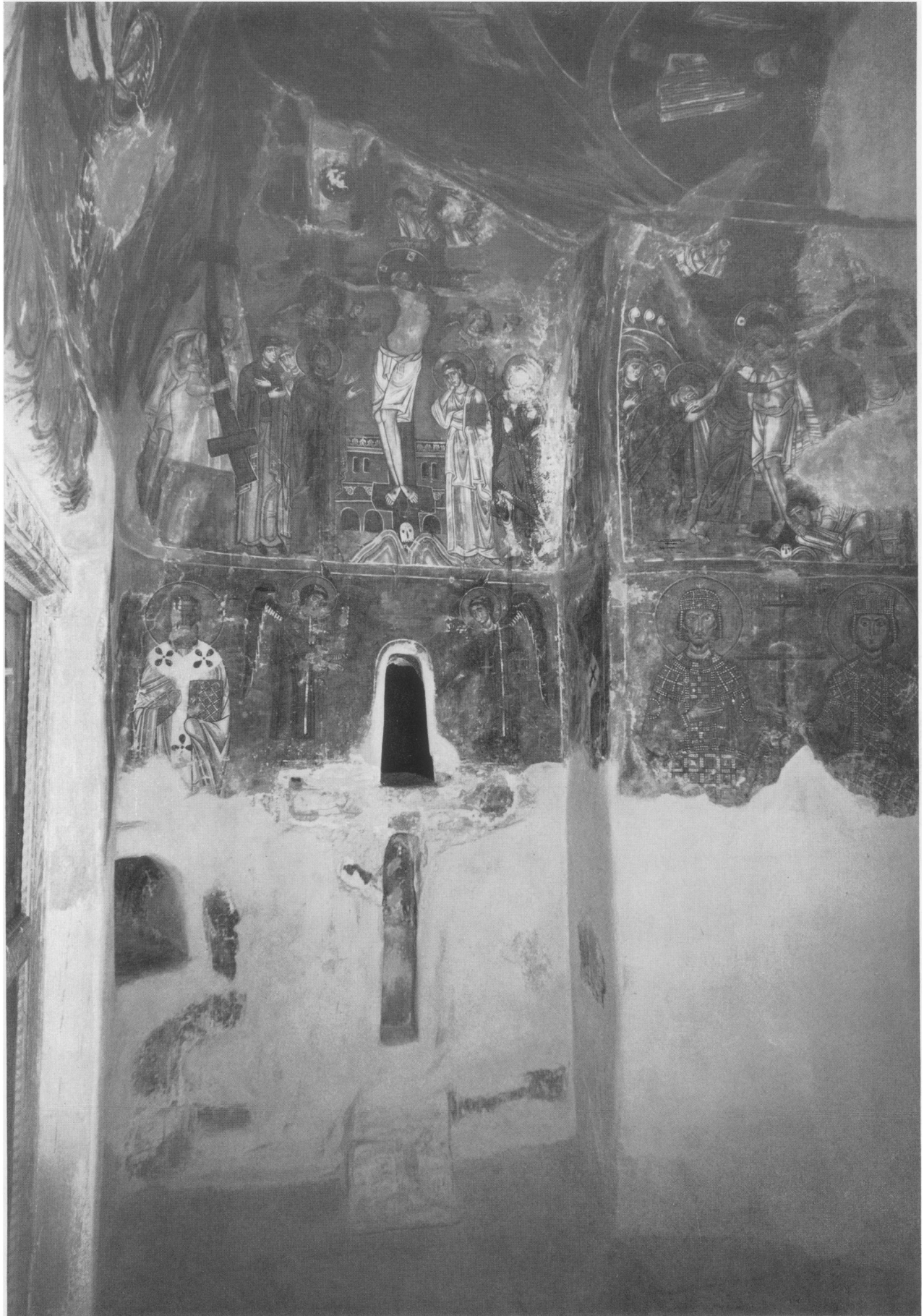


32. Crucifixion

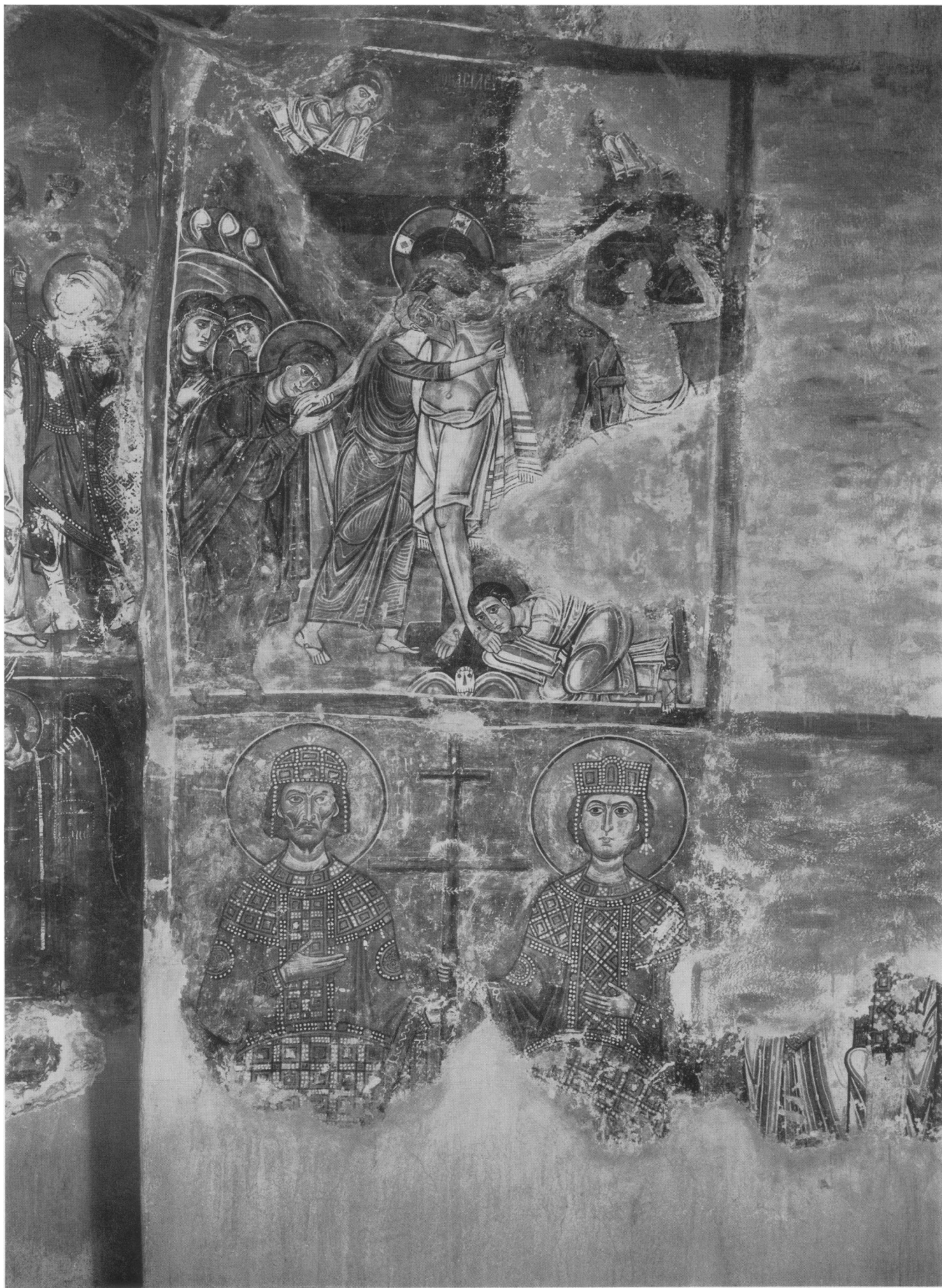
Naos



33. Crucifixion, detail. Soldier and group of Jews



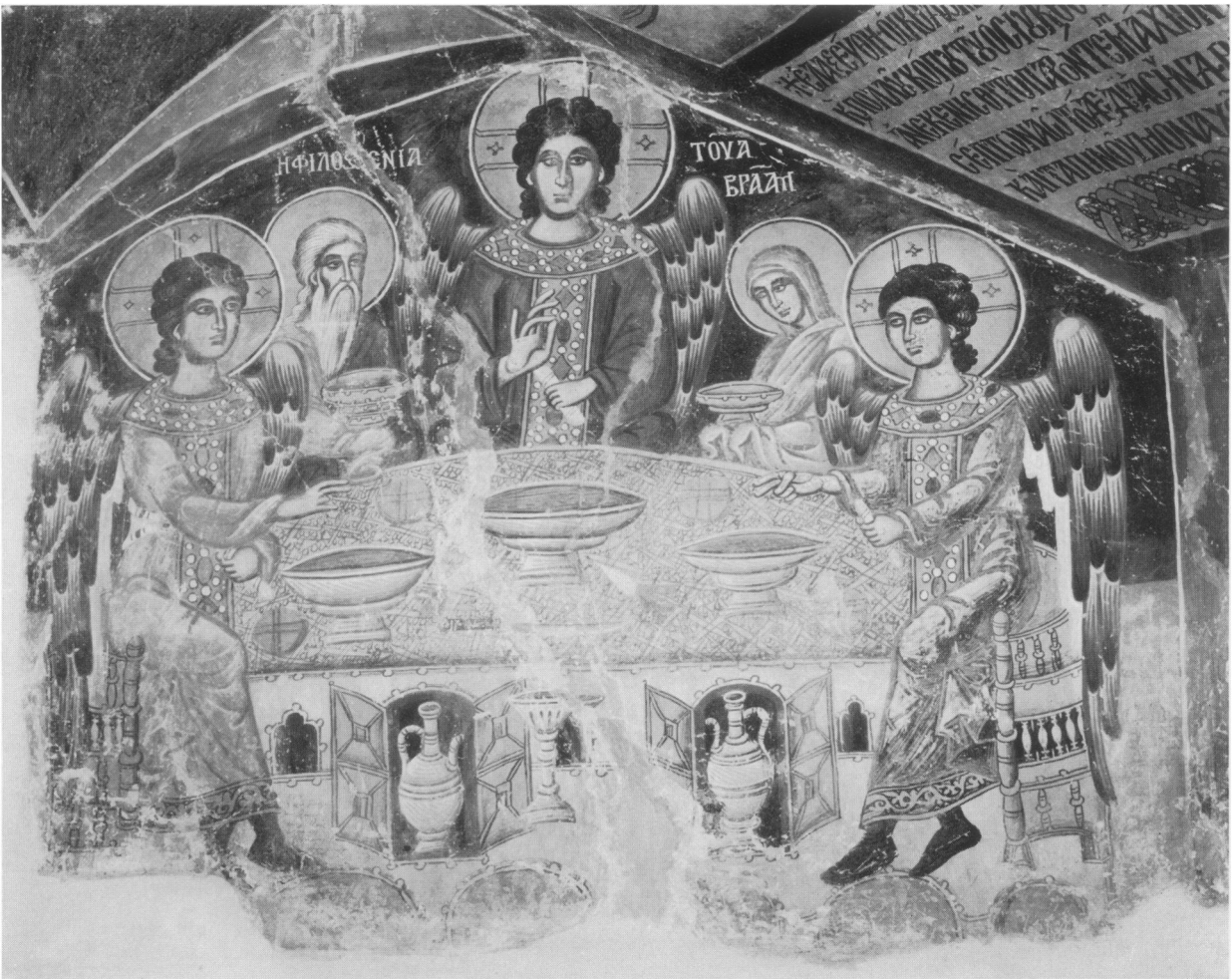
34. Naos, East Wall. Recess of the Holy Cross



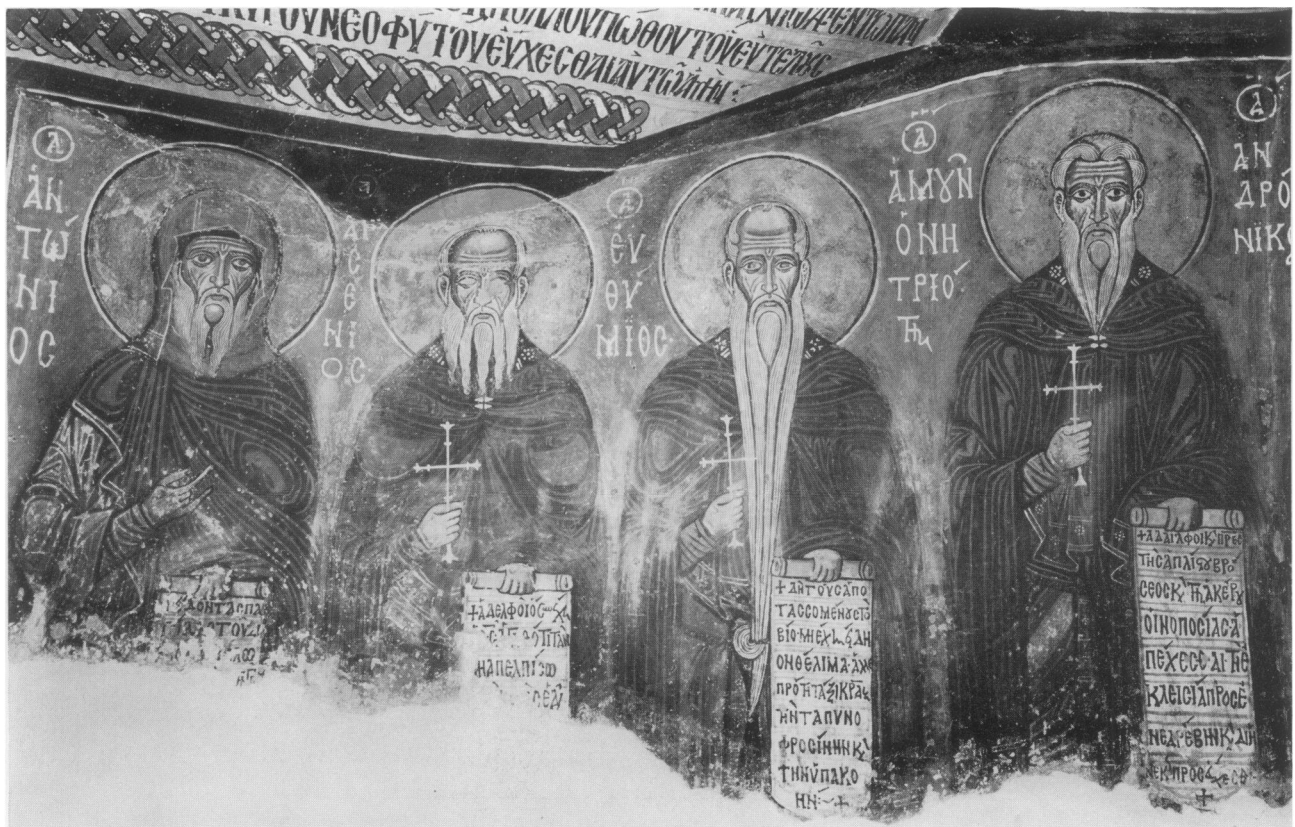
35. Naos. Descent from the Cross, Constantine and Helena, and Unidentified Bishop



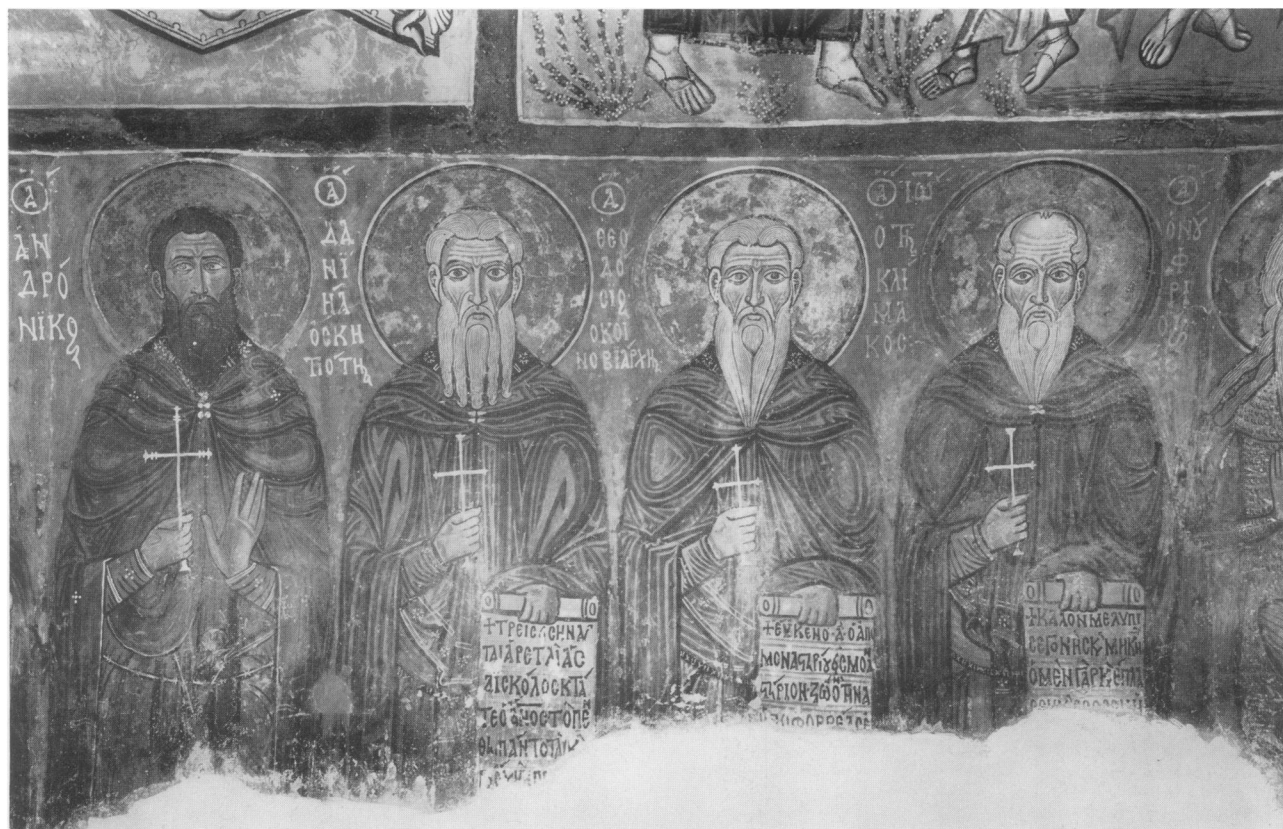
36. Naos. Lamentation, Anastasis, *Noli me tangere*, Portrait of Neophytos (?) and two Stylites



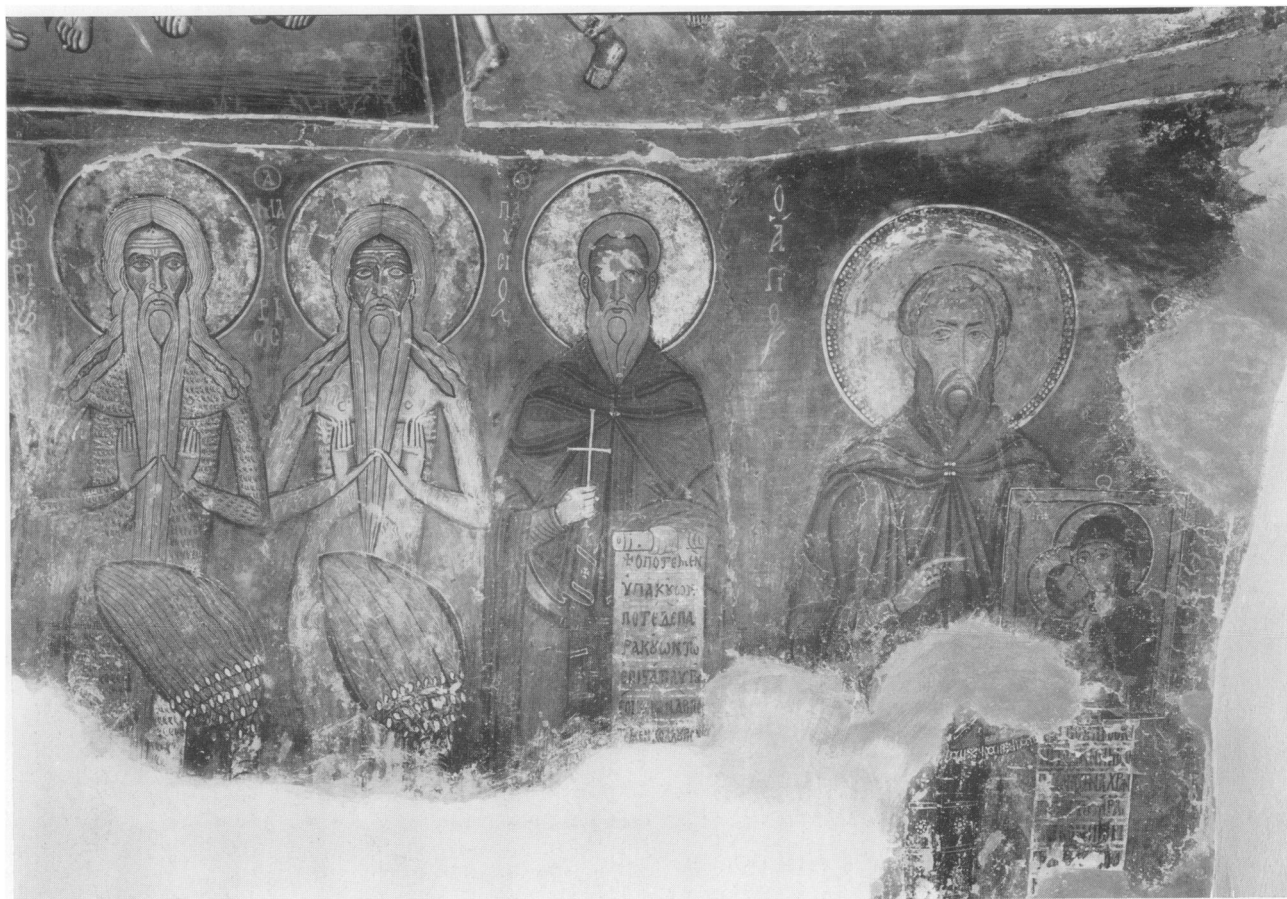
37. South Wall. Abraham's Hospitality



38. West Wall. Sts. Antony, Arsenius, Euthymius, and Amoun
Naos



39. SS. Andronicus, Daniel of Sketis, Theodosius the Coenobiarch, and John Climacus



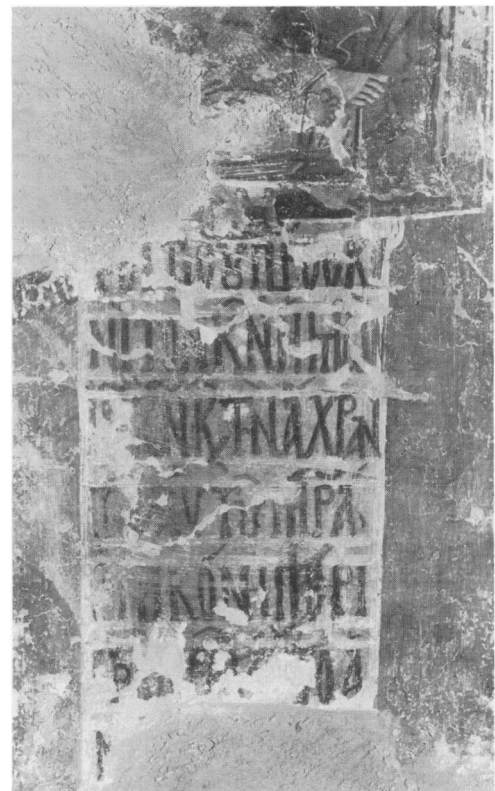
40. SS. Onuphrius, Macarius, Paisius, and Stephen the Younger
Naos, West Wall



41. St. Stephen the Younger



42. Scroll of St. Amoun

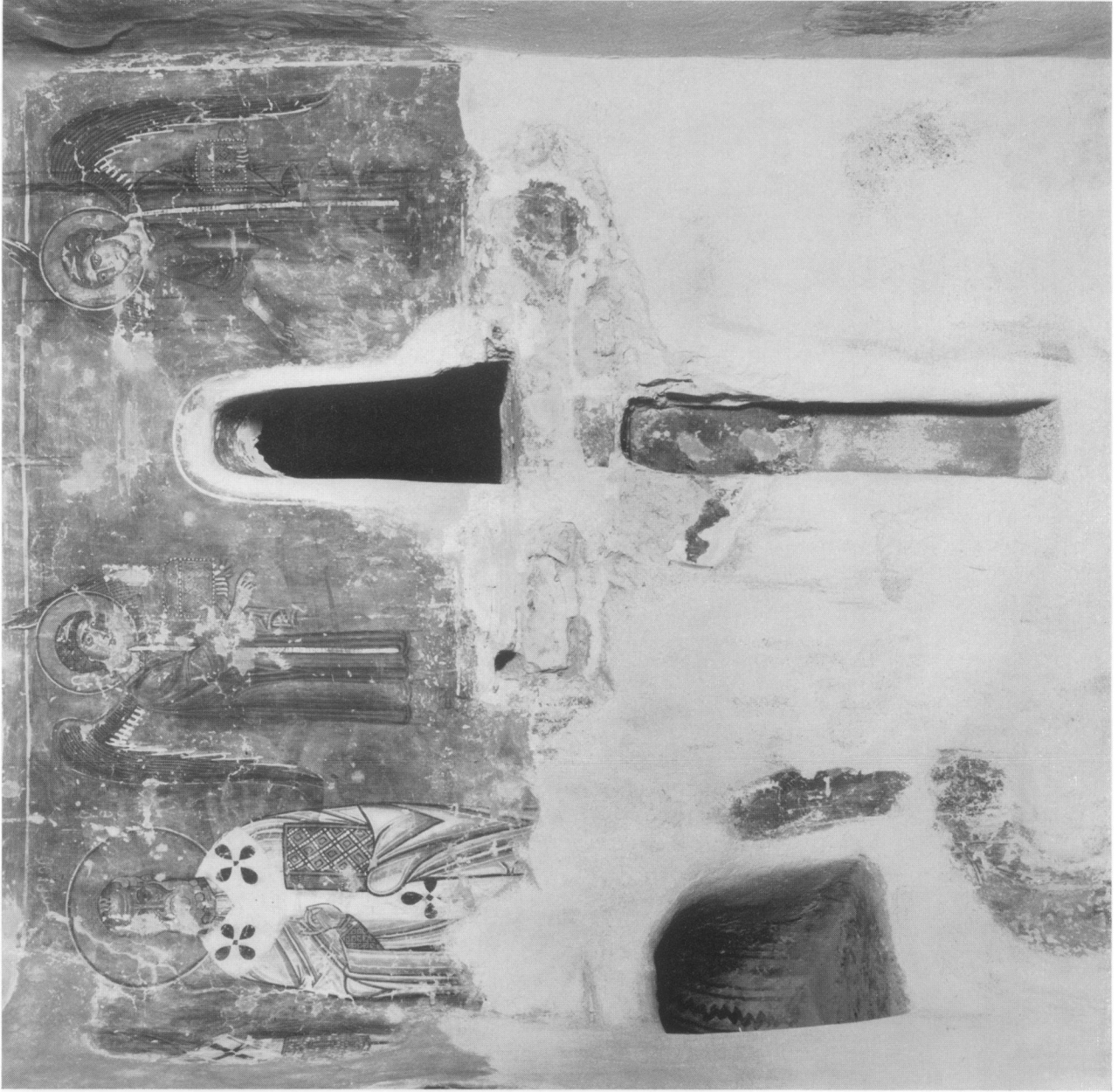


43. Scroll of St. Stephen the Younger

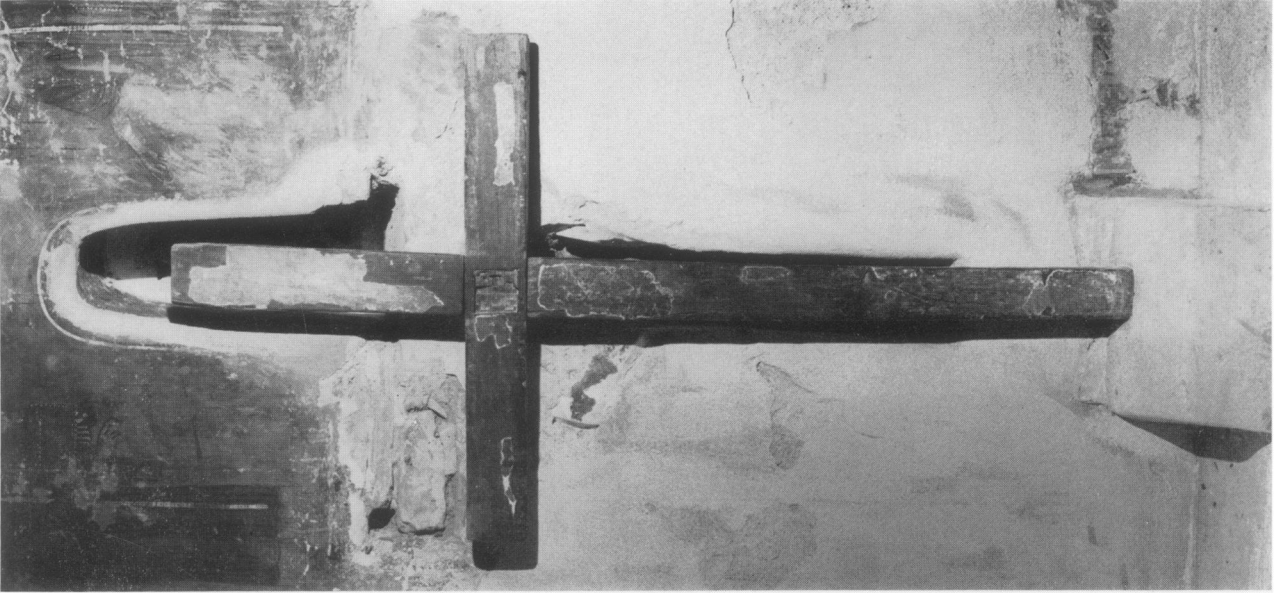
Naos, West Wall



44. Naos, North Wall. Christ and Unidentified Bishop



45. South Wall. Recess of the Holy Cross



46. Wooden Cross

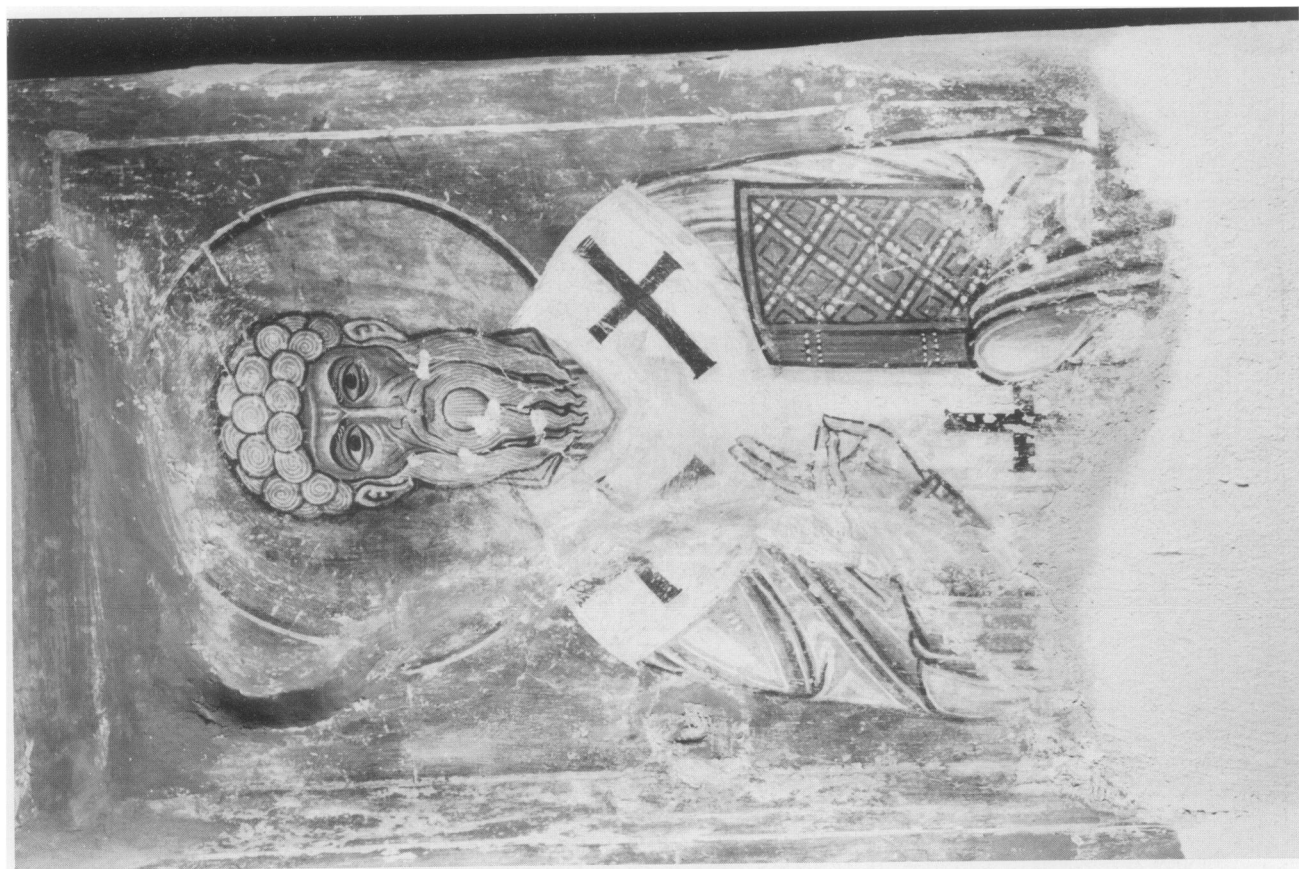
Naos



48. Portrait of Neophytos (?)

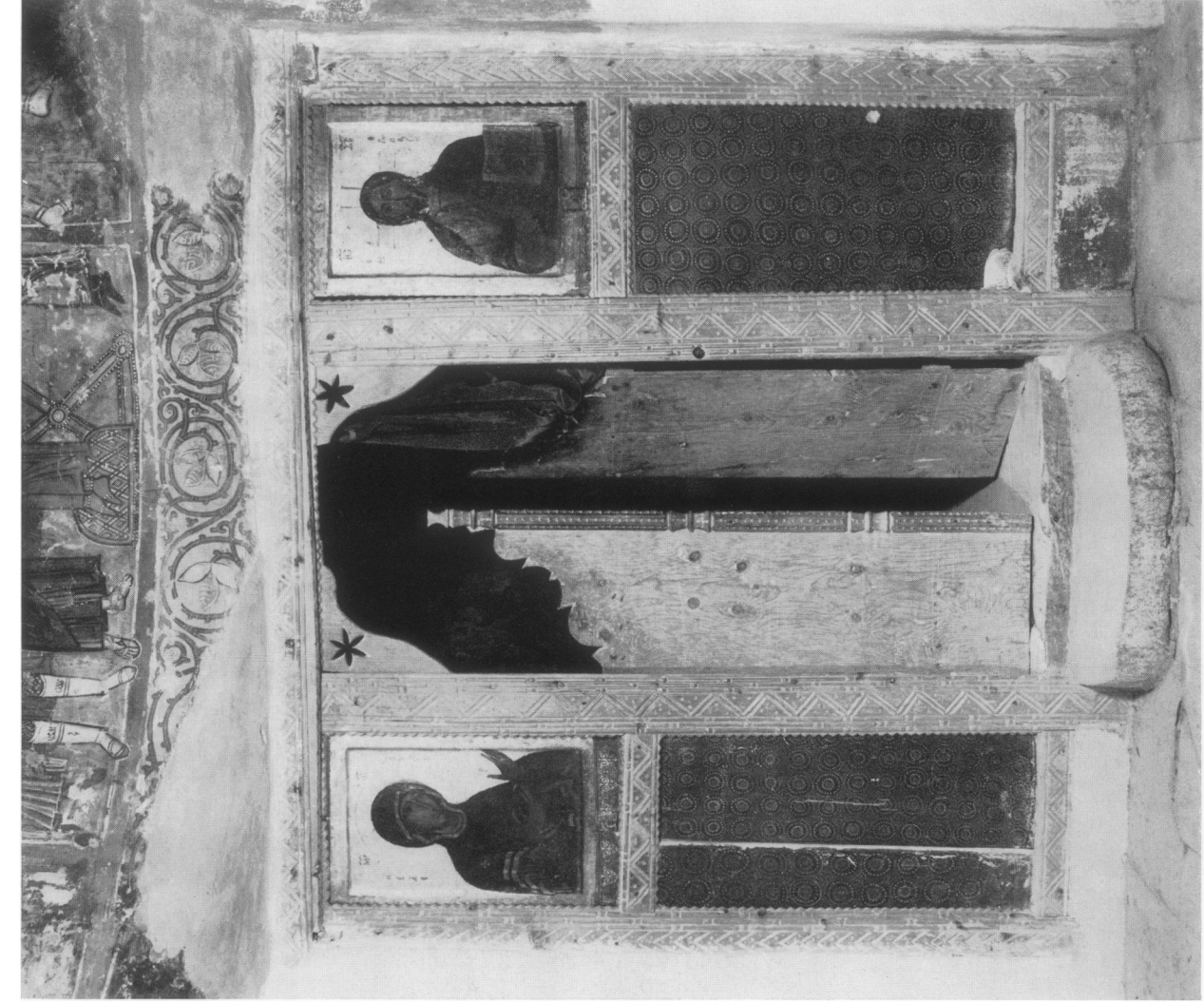


49. Two Stylites

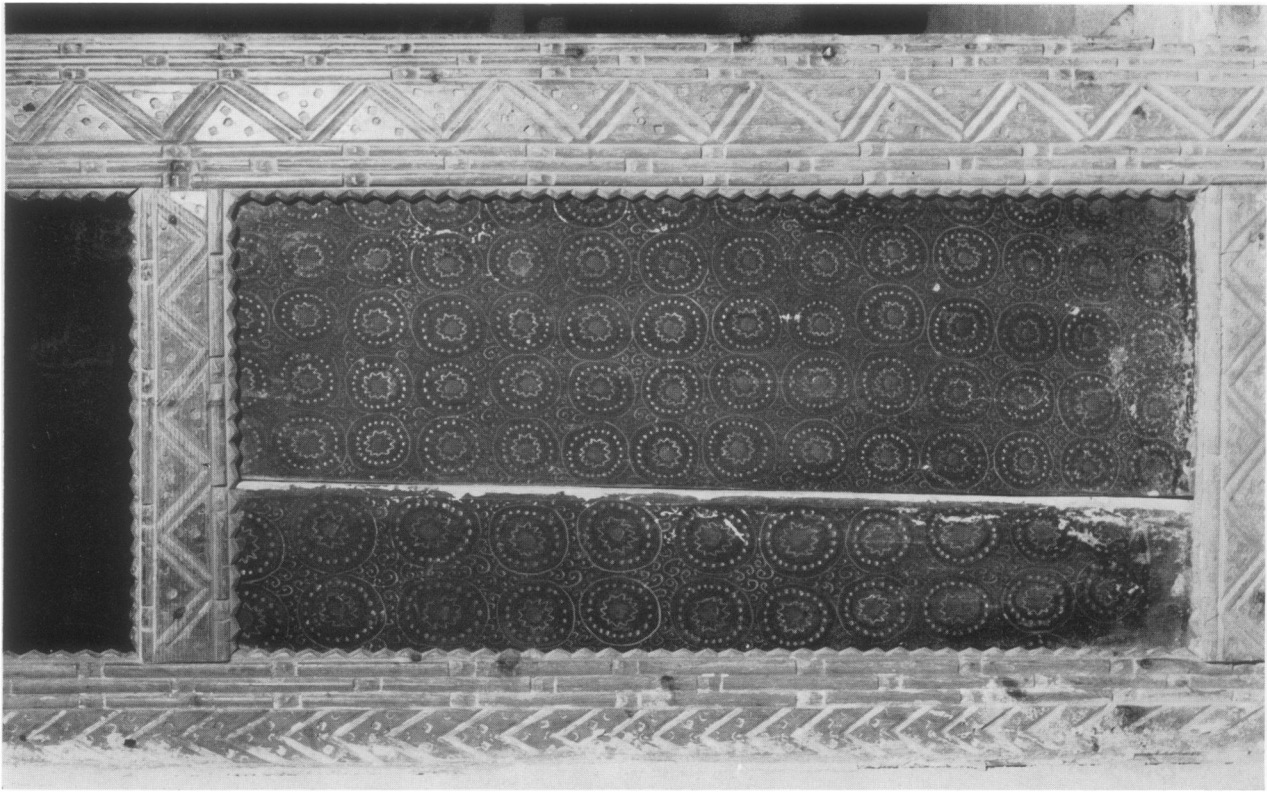


47. Unidentified bishop

Naos, South Wall



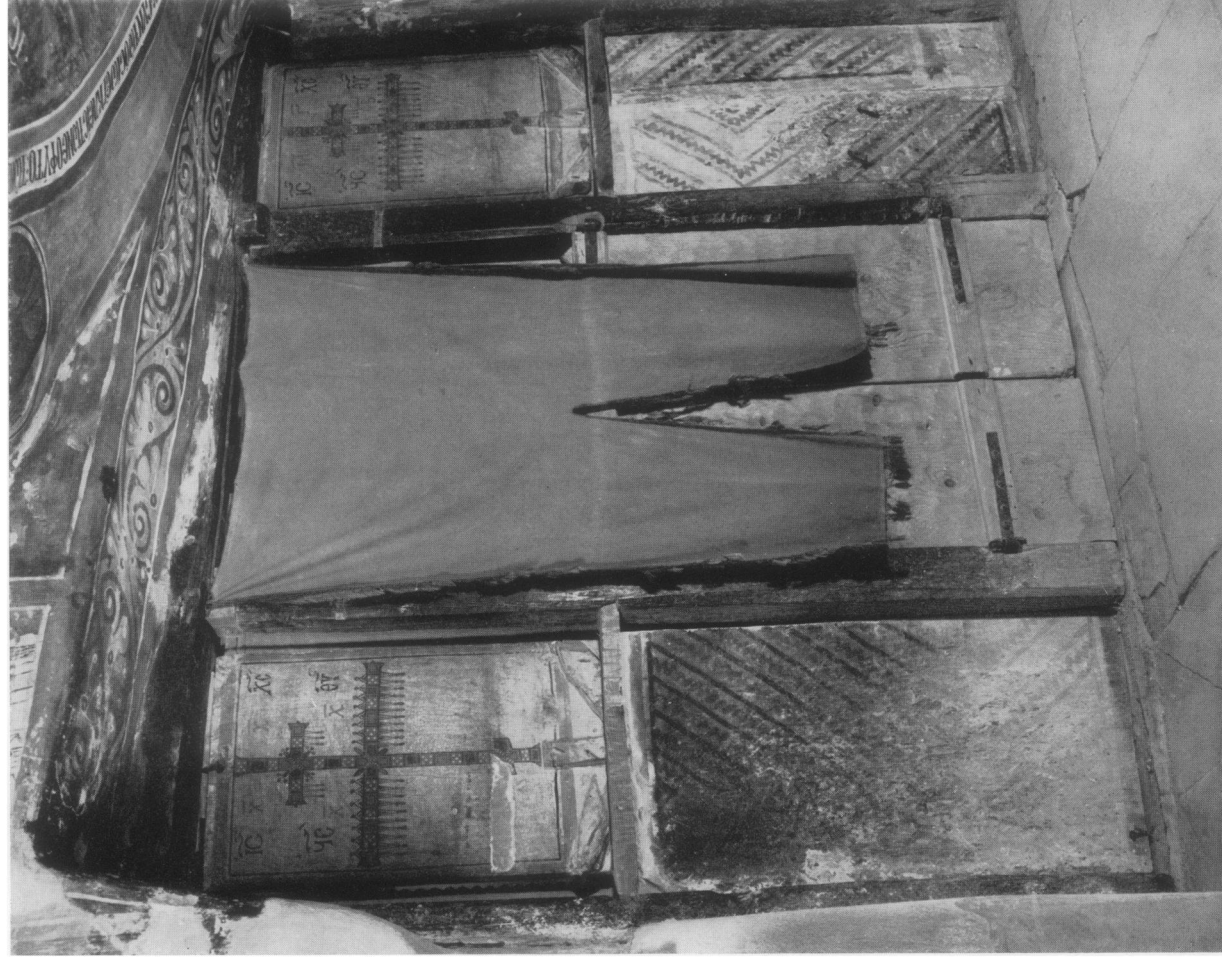
50. Iconostasis, seen from the Naos



51. Iconostasis, West Panel



53. Icon of Christ Philanthropos, detail. Retouched photograph of Gospel Book



52. Iconostasis. Rear View



54. Icon of Virgin Eleousa



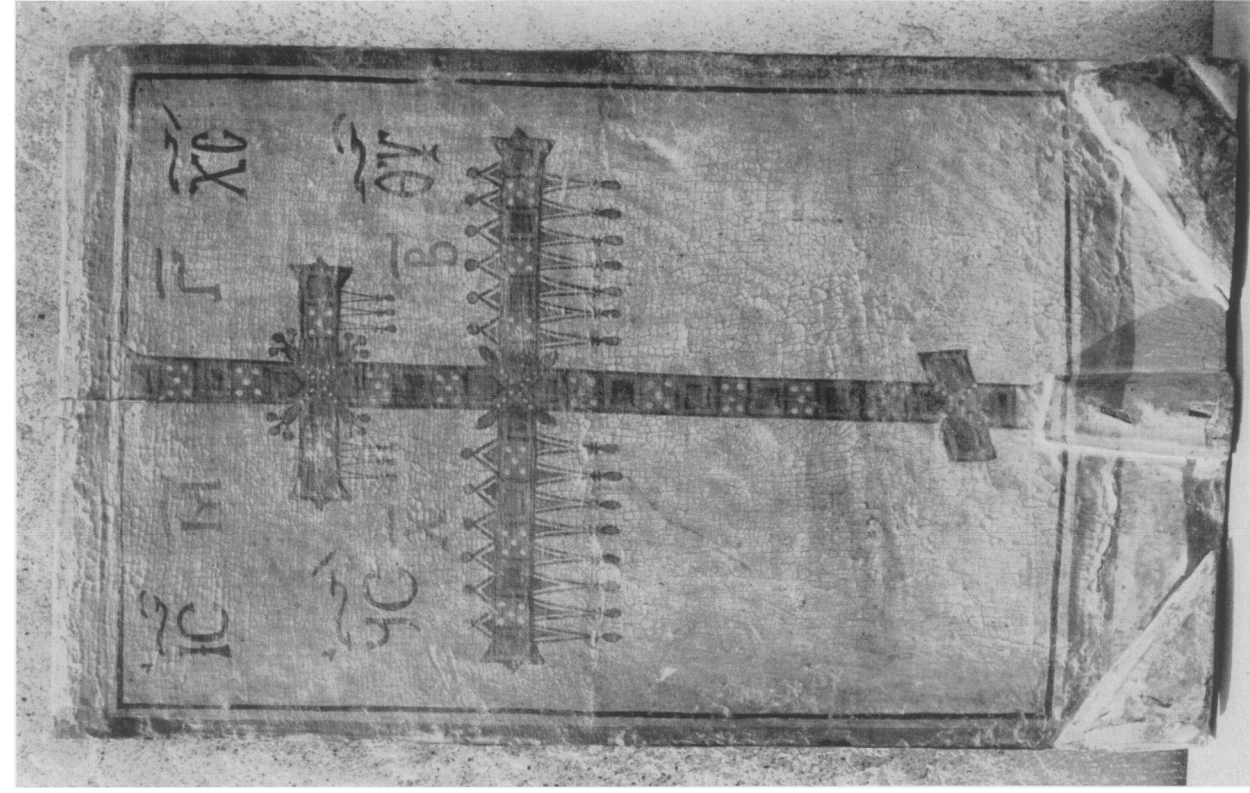
55. Icon of Christ Philanthropos



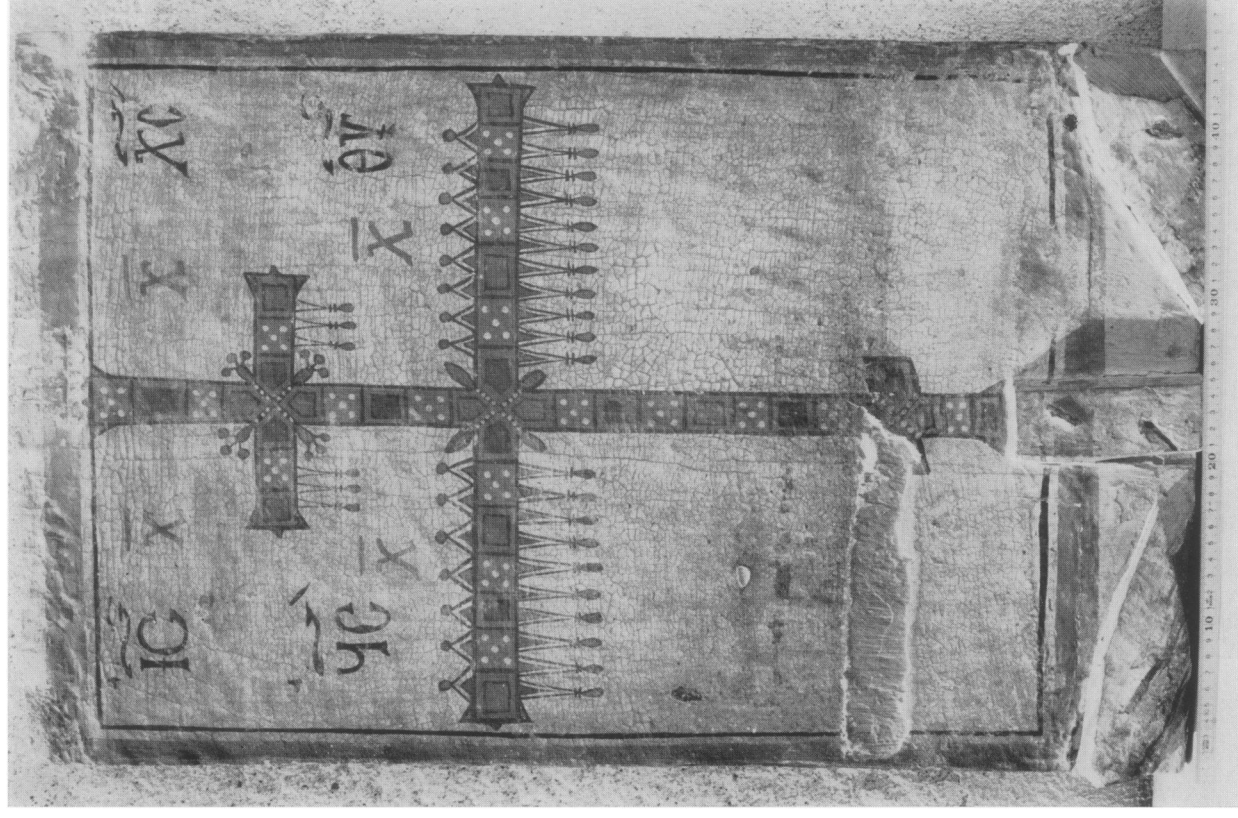
56. Icon of Virgin Eleousa, detail, Head of Virgin



57. Icon of Christ Philanthropos, detail, Head of Christ



58. Icon of Virgin Eleousa, Rear Side



59. Icon of Christ Philanthropos, Rear Side



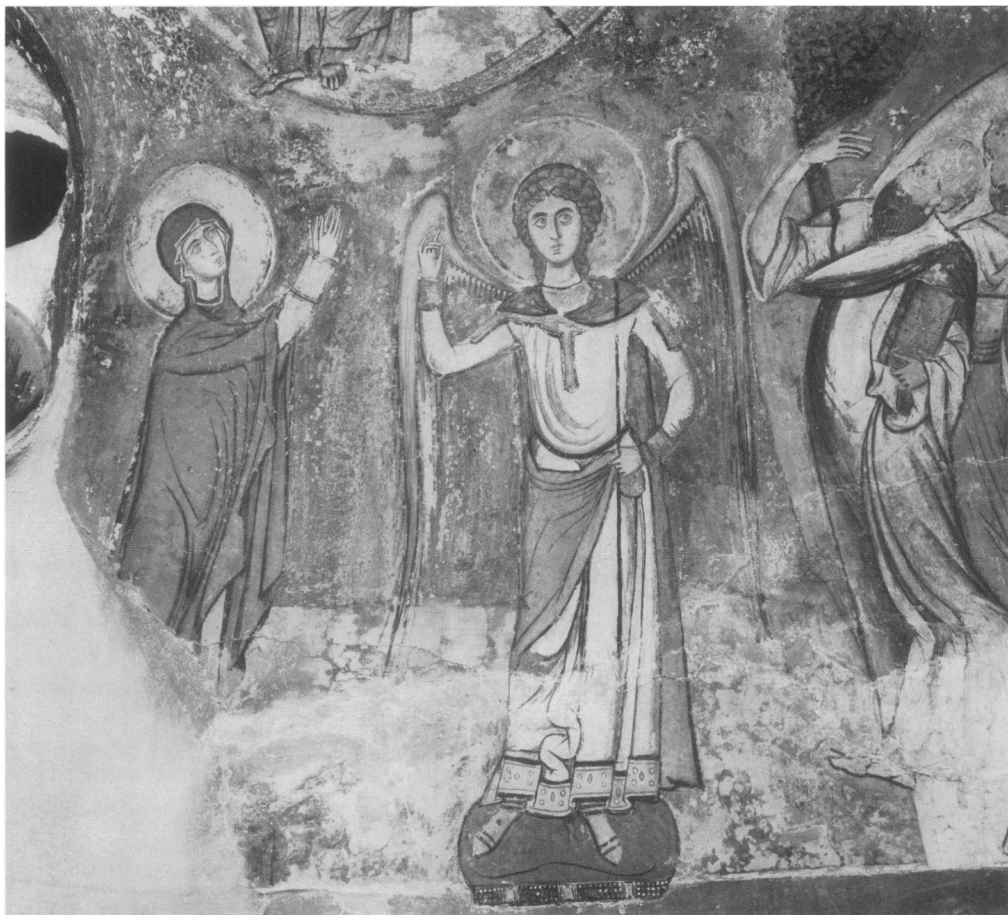
60. Bema, East Bay



61. Bema. Ascension



62. Ascending Christ



63. Virgin Mary and Archangel
Bema. Ascension



64. Group of Apostles on the Left



65. Group of Apostles on the Right
Bema. Ascension



66. Bema. Neophytos between Archangels Michael and Gabriel (*see also Color Plate facing page 166*)



67. Head of Archangel Michael

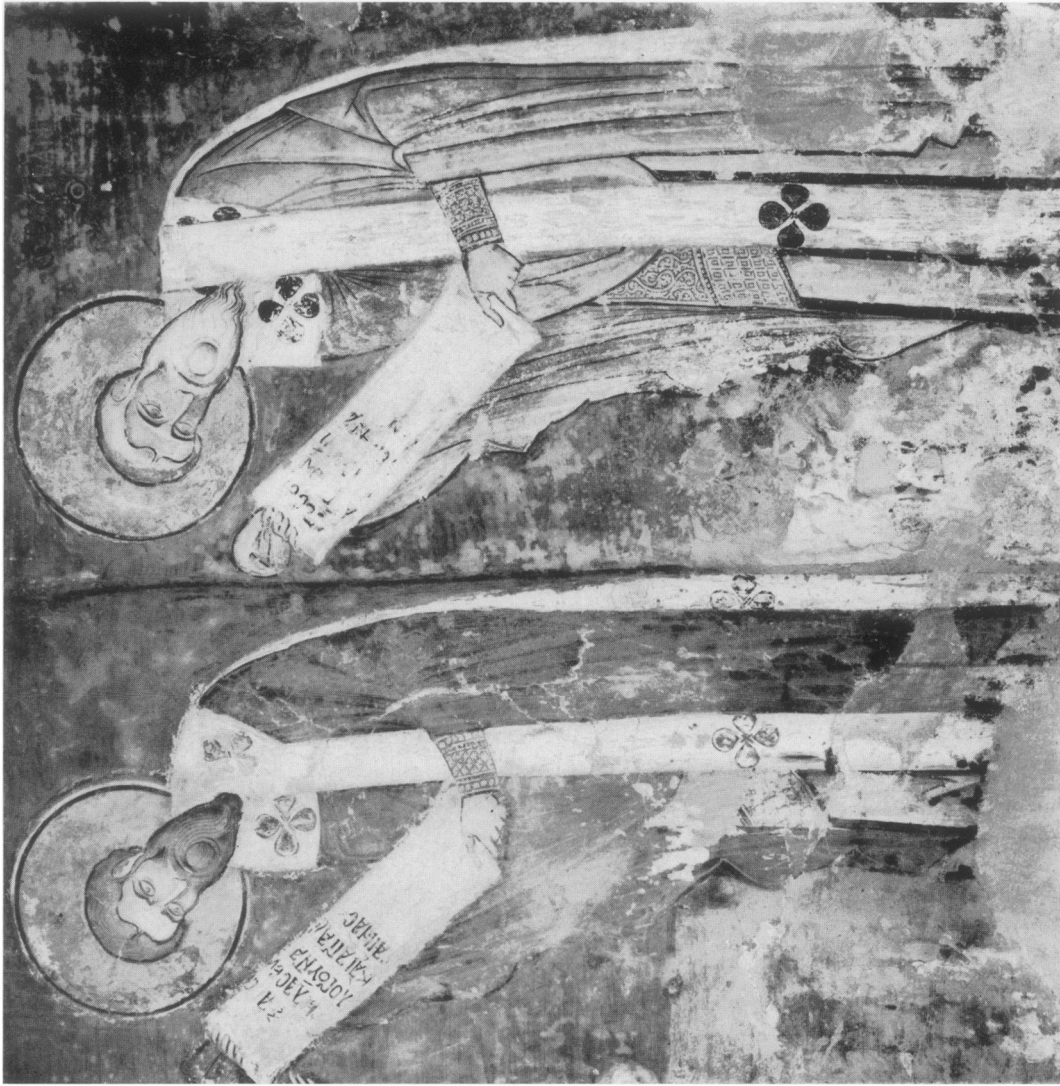


68. Head of Neophytos

Bema. Neophytes between Archangels Michael and Gabriel, details



69. Berna, East Bay. Virgin Mary and Bishops



70. Sts. Basil and Epiphanius

Bema, East Bay. Details



71. St. Nicholas



72. Bema, North Wall. Annunciation and Christ Emmanuel



73. Annunciation, Archangel Gabriel

Bema



74. Ceiling of West Bay. Christ Pantocrator



75. Bema, West Bay. Christ Pantocrator and Monastic Saints



76. Rinceau Ornament on Reveal of Iconostasis Opening
Bema



77. West Bay. St. Ephraem



79. Sts. Theodore the Sanctified and Pachomius



78. Sts. Ephraem, Cyriacus, and Gerasimus

Bema, West Bay



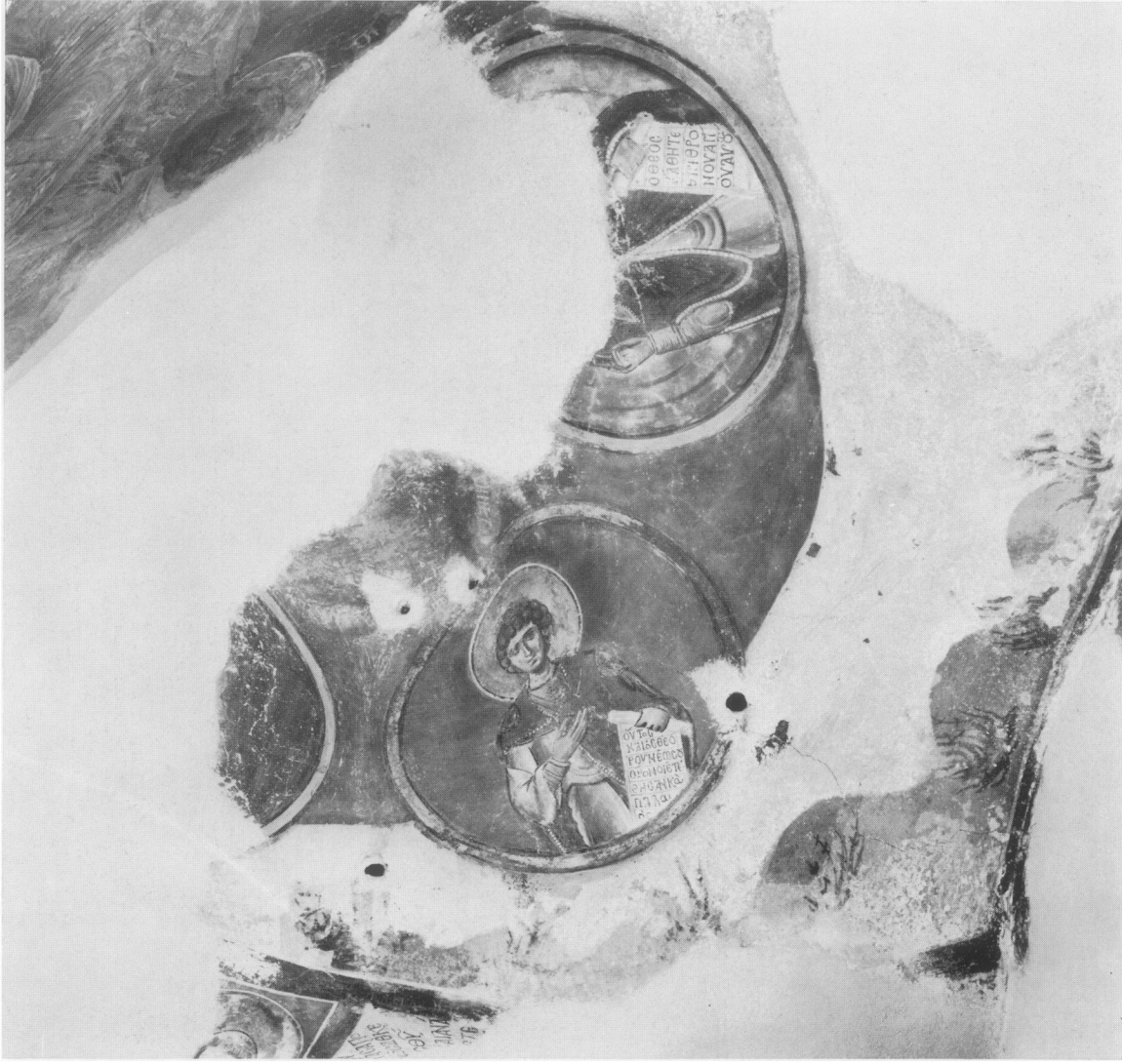
80. Bema, West Bay. Sts. Hilarion and Euthymius



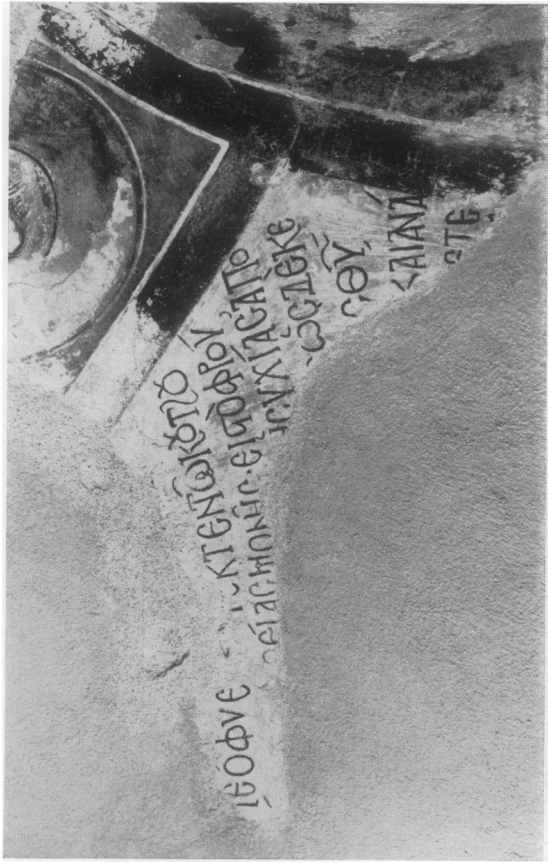
81. Cell, South Wall



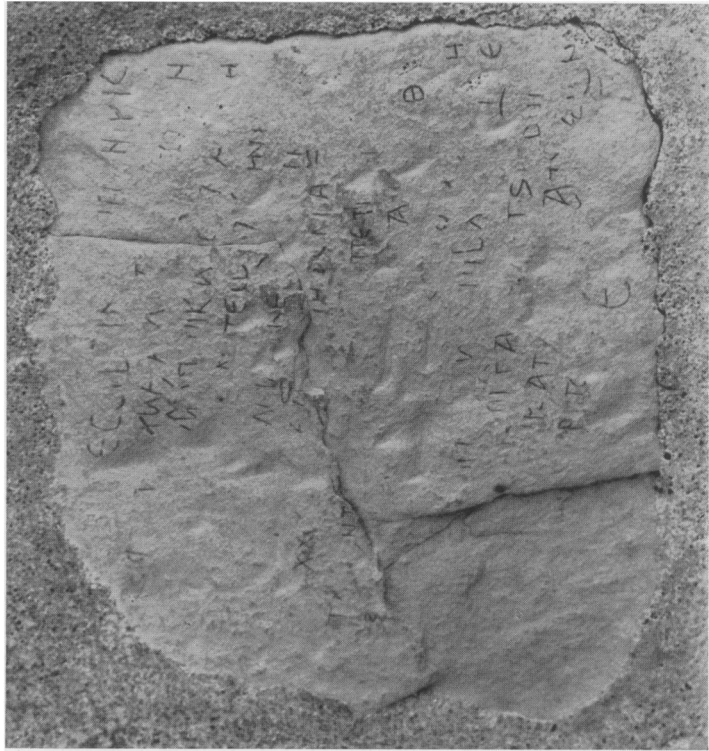
82. Cell, looking West



83. Cell. Prophets



84. Ceiling. Head of St. Damian and Inscription



85. Door in East Wall. Inscribed Stone



86. East Wall

Cell



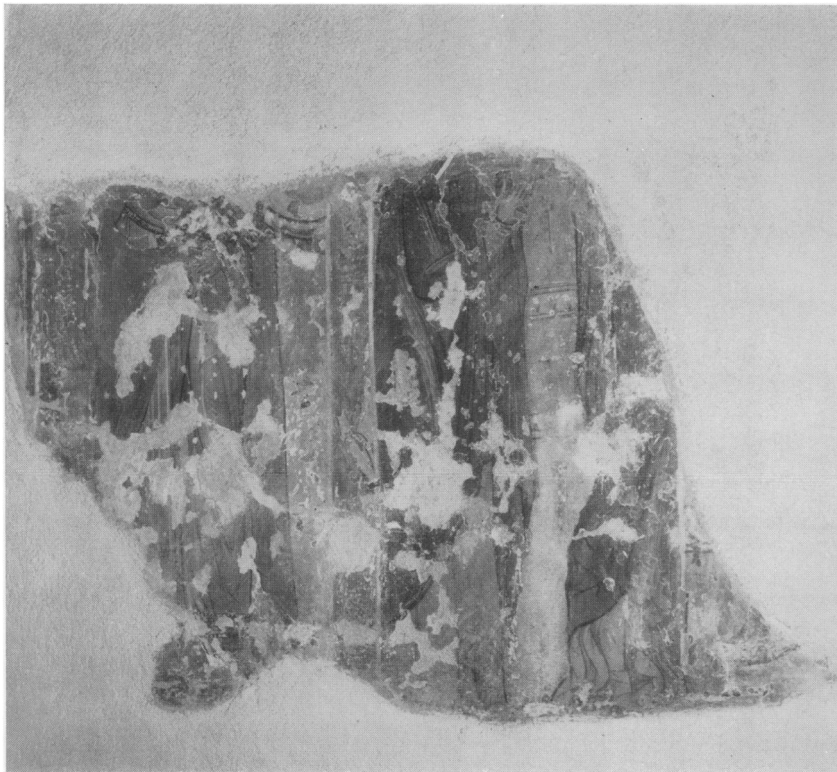
87. Sts. Theodore Stratelates and Demetrius (?)
Cell, East Wall



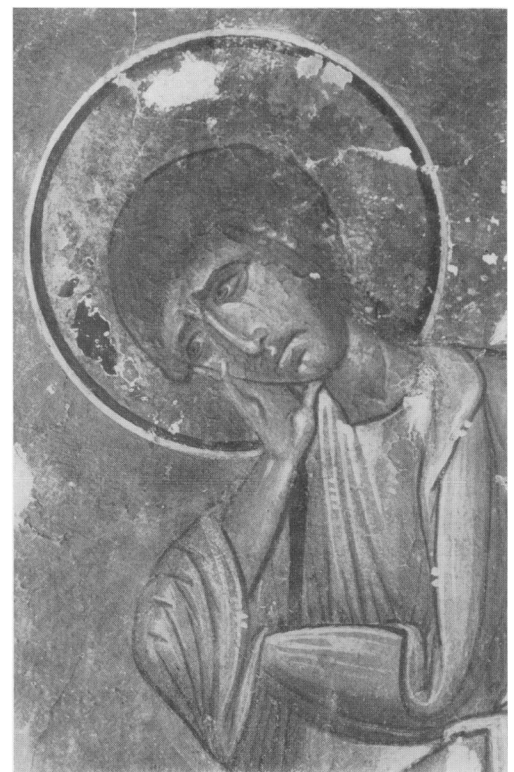
88. Military Saint



89. Crucifixion



90. Figure in Royal Vestments and *Myrophoroi* from Crucifixion Cell, South Wall



91. Crucifixion, detail, Head of St. John



92. South Wall. St. Andrew Salos

Cell



93. North Wall. Deesis before Restoration



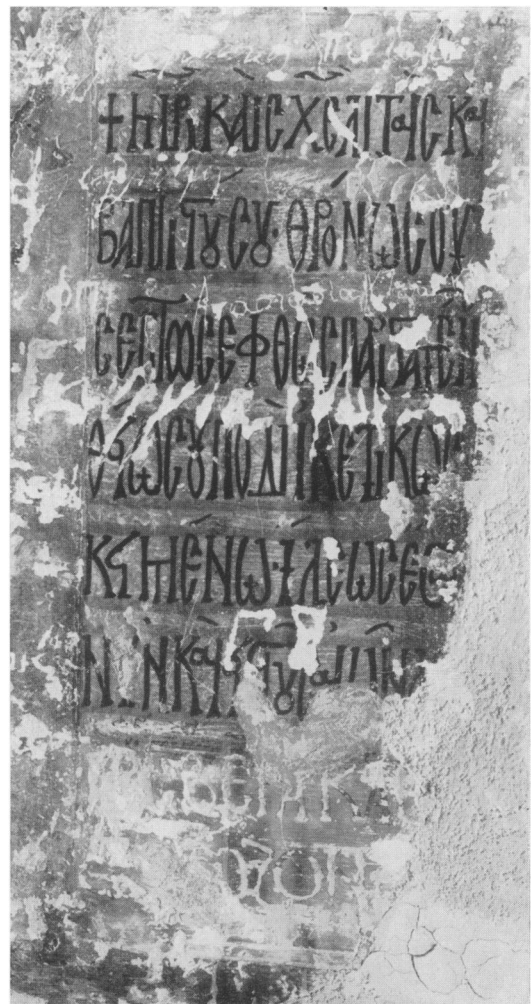
94. Cell, North Wall. Deesis after Restoration



95. Neophytos



96. Head of Neophytos

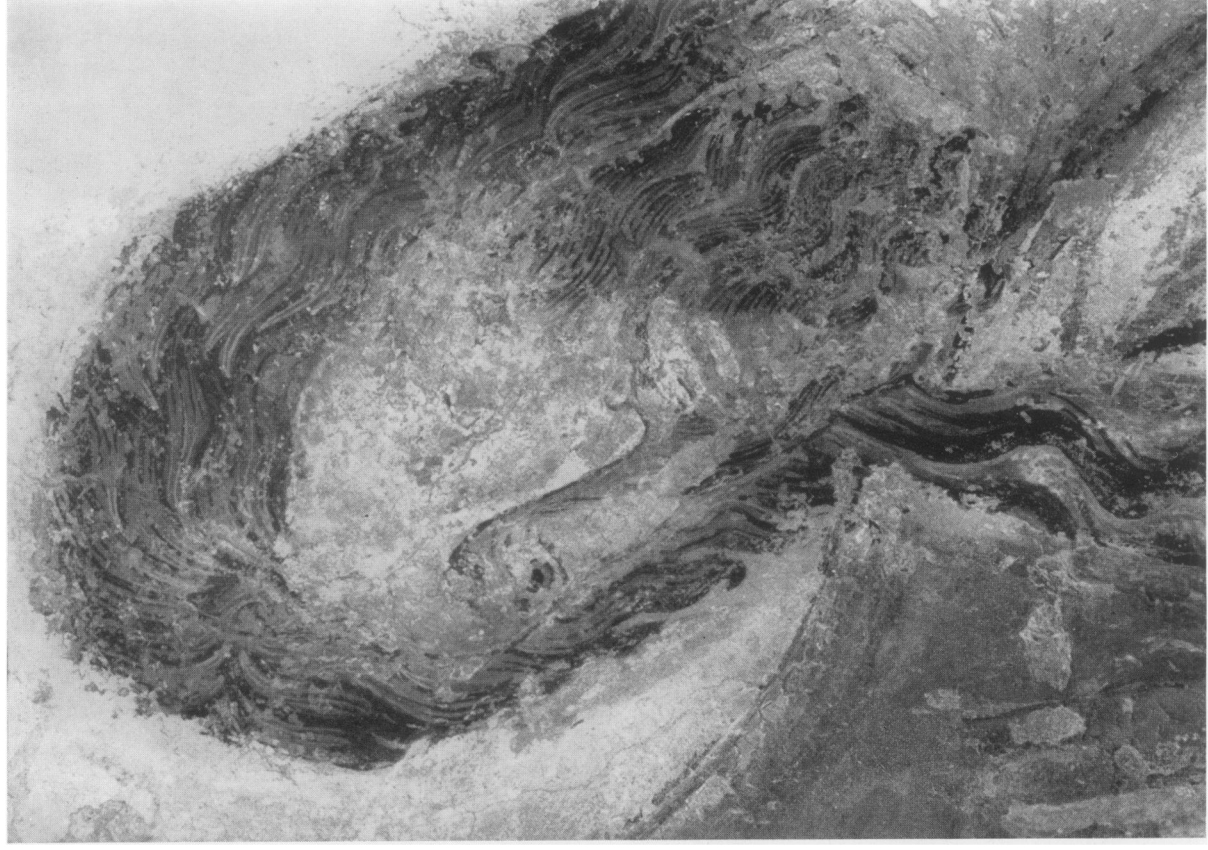


97. Inscription before Restoration



98. Head of Christ

Cell. Deesis



99. Head of St. John the Baptist



101. Panel above Desk



102. Panel above Desk, detail, End of Inscription of Theodore Apseudes
Cell



100. Desk of Neophytos



103. Medical Saint



104. Epitaph



105. Tomb Chamber
Cell, North Wall

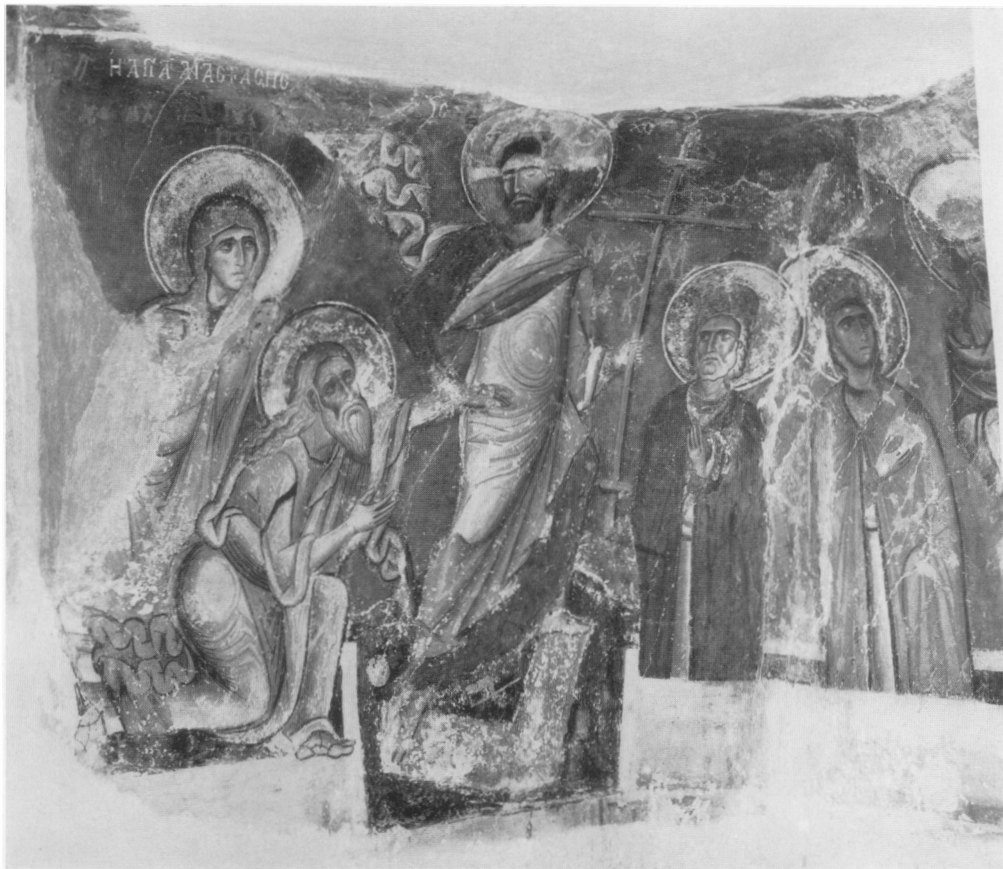


106. Crucifixion



107. Virgin and Child between Two Bishops

Cell, Tomb Chamber



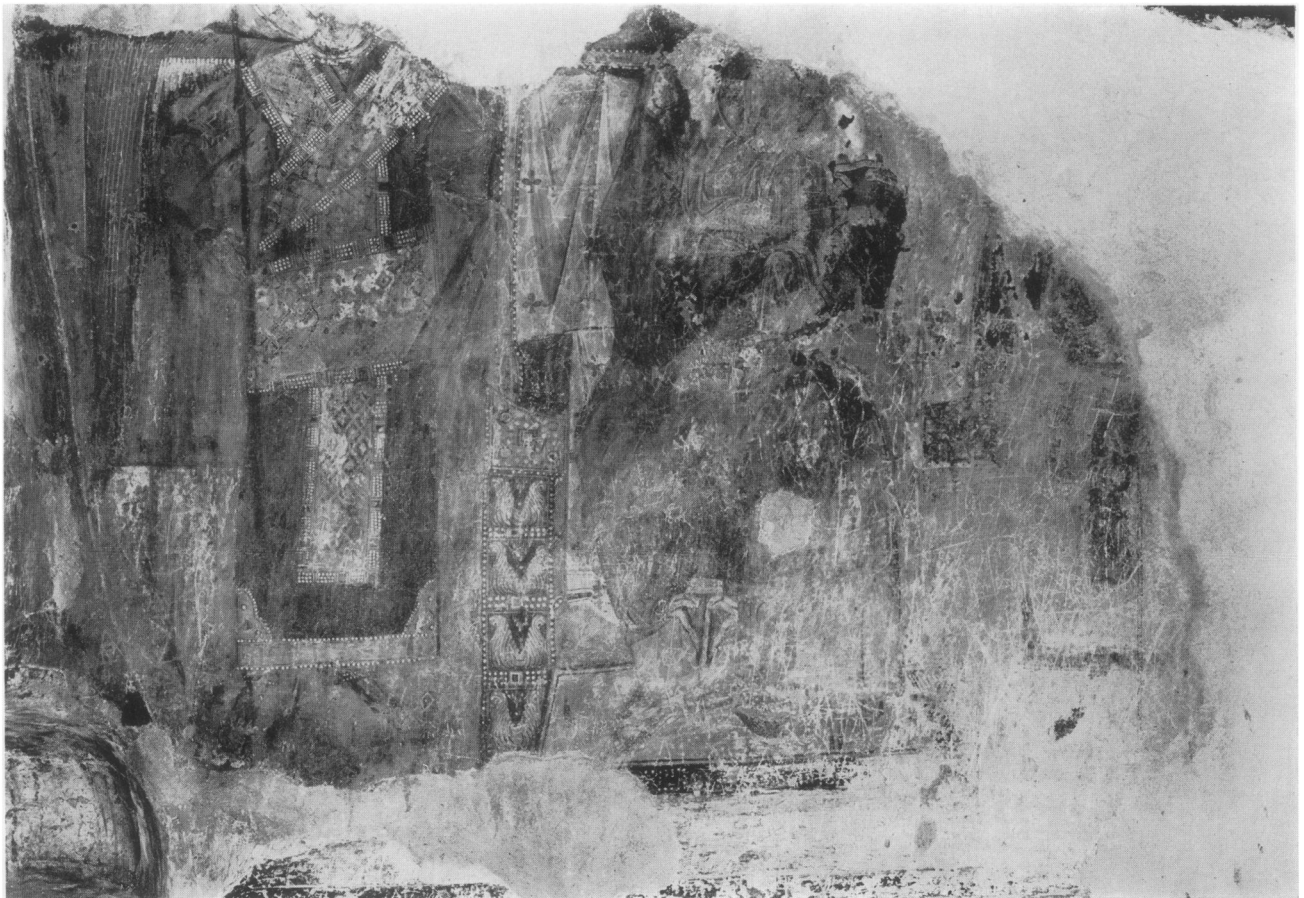
108. Left-hand Side



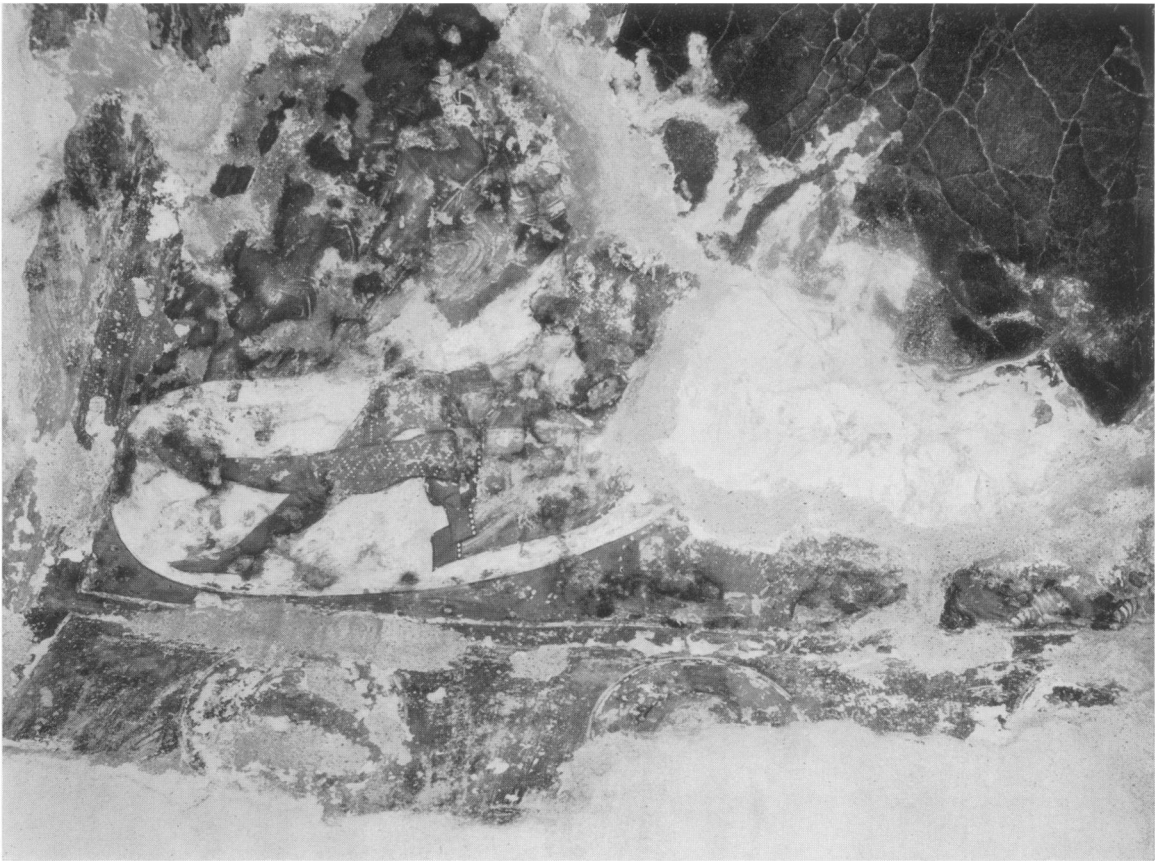
109. Right-hand Side
Cell, Tomb Chamber. Anastasis



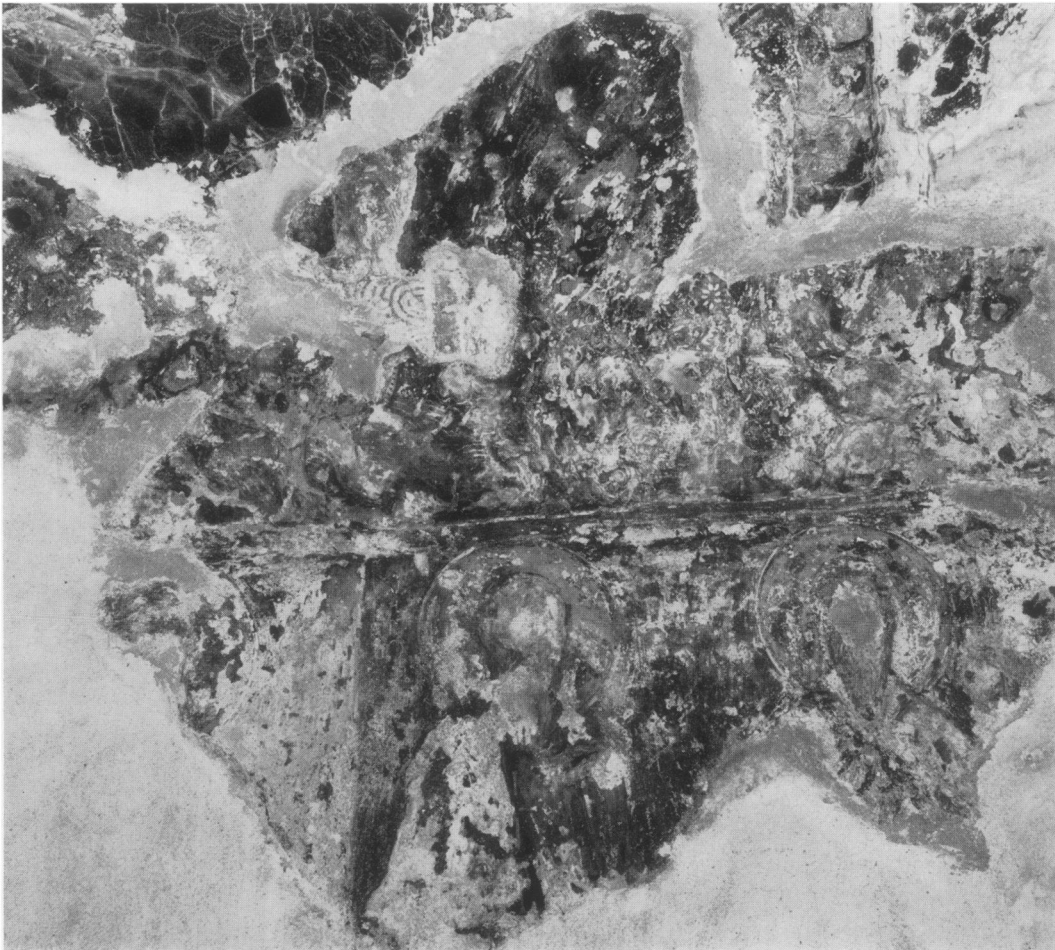
110. Looking South



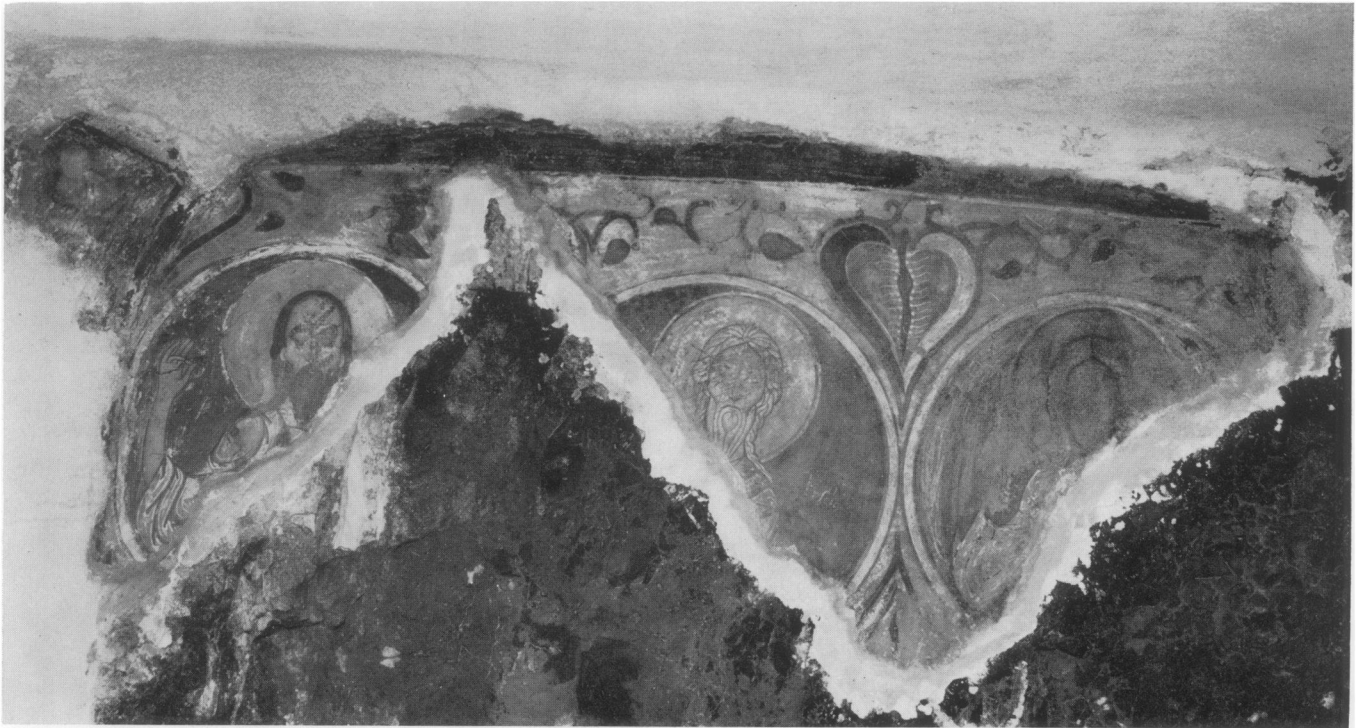
111. South Wall. Virgin and Child between Two Archangels
Refectory



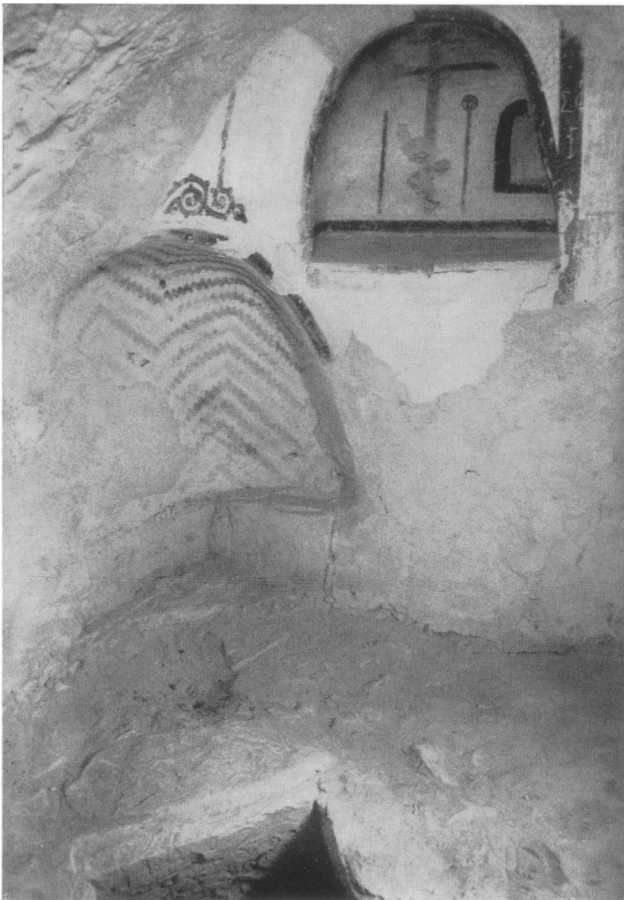
112. Recumbent Figure and Heads of Monastic Saints



113. Procession of Animals and Monastic Saints
Refectory, West Wall and Ceiling



114. Refectory, Ceiling. Prophets



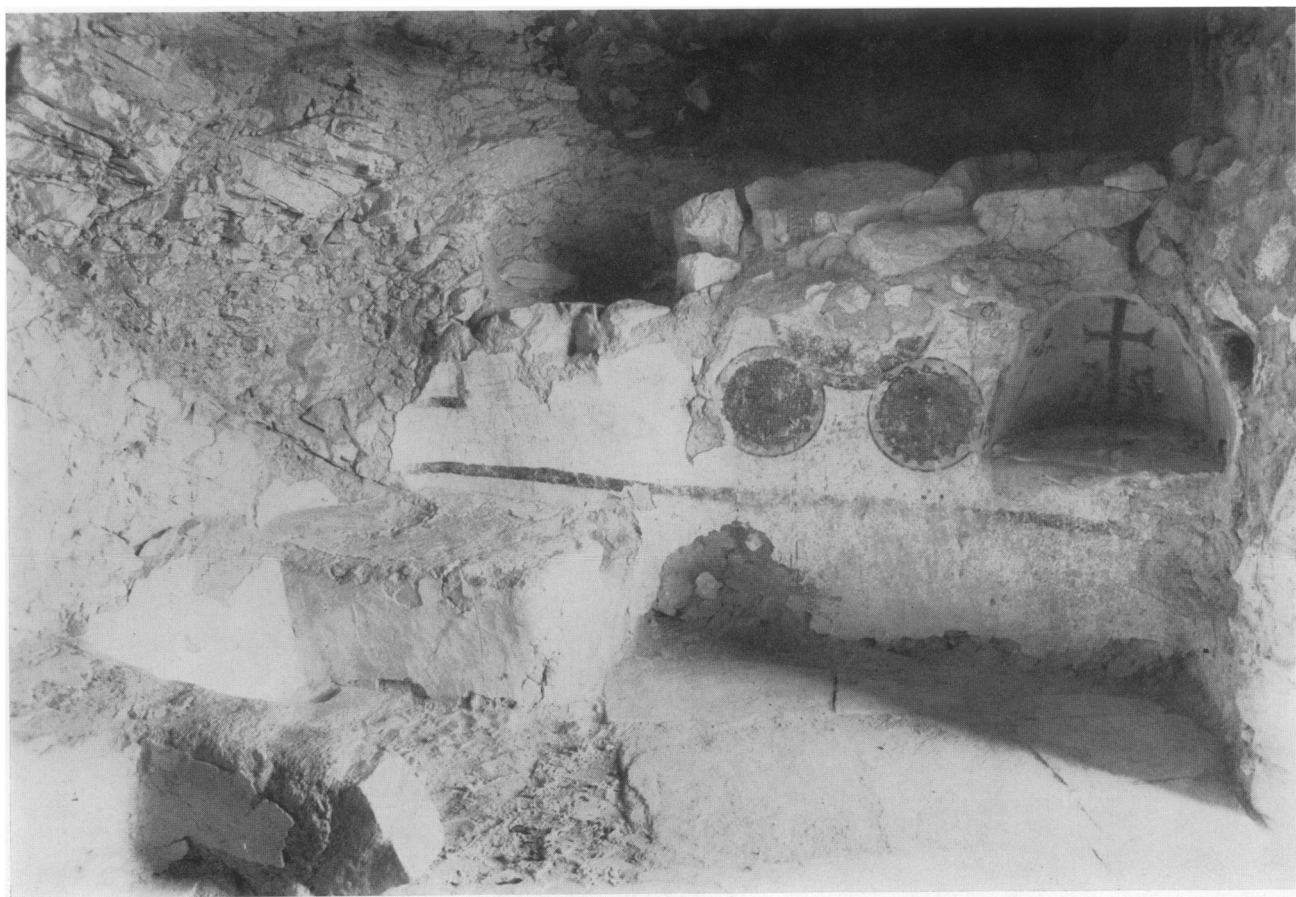
115. Hagiasterion



116. New Zion. Painted Cross



117. New Zion, looking Southwest



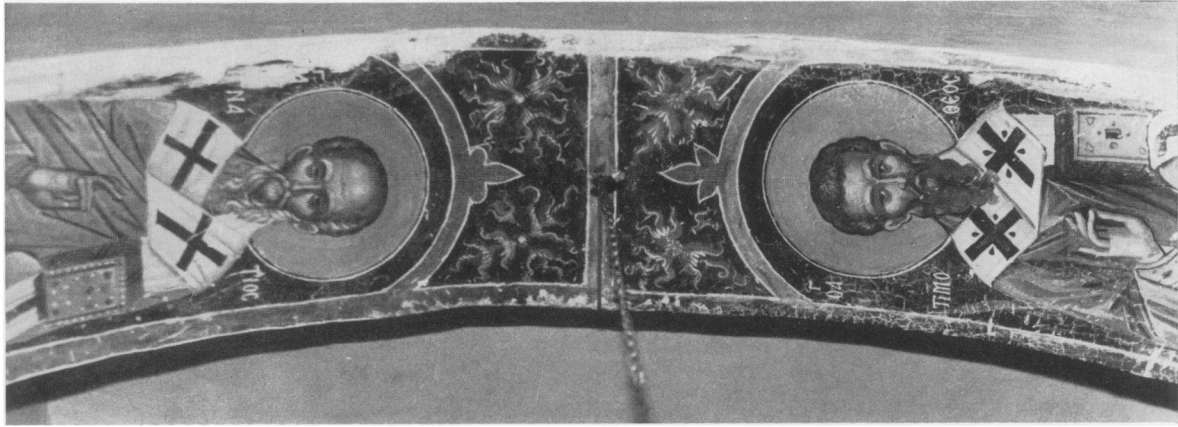
118. Cave of St. John the Baptist, looking Northwest



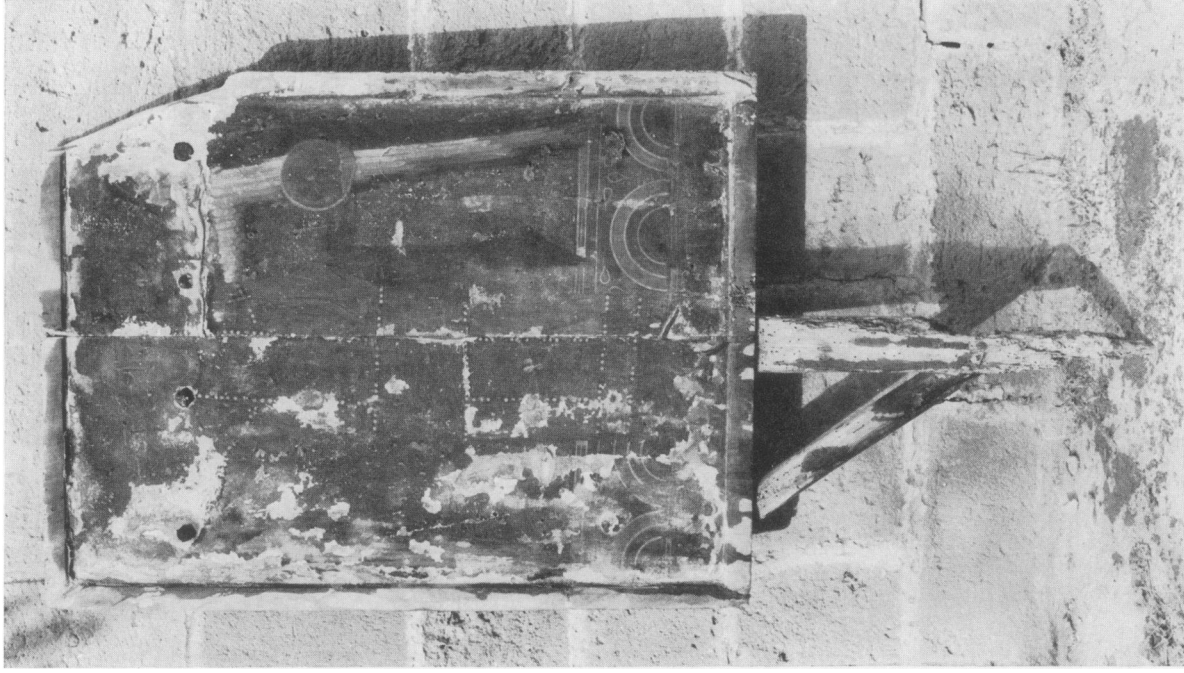
119. Inscription from Cave of St. John the Baptist



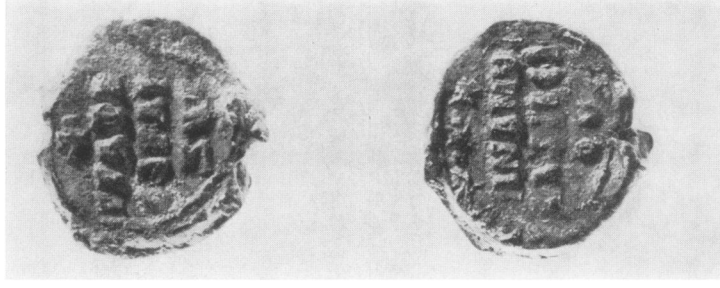
120. Koutsovendi, Ruined Chapel. Lamentation



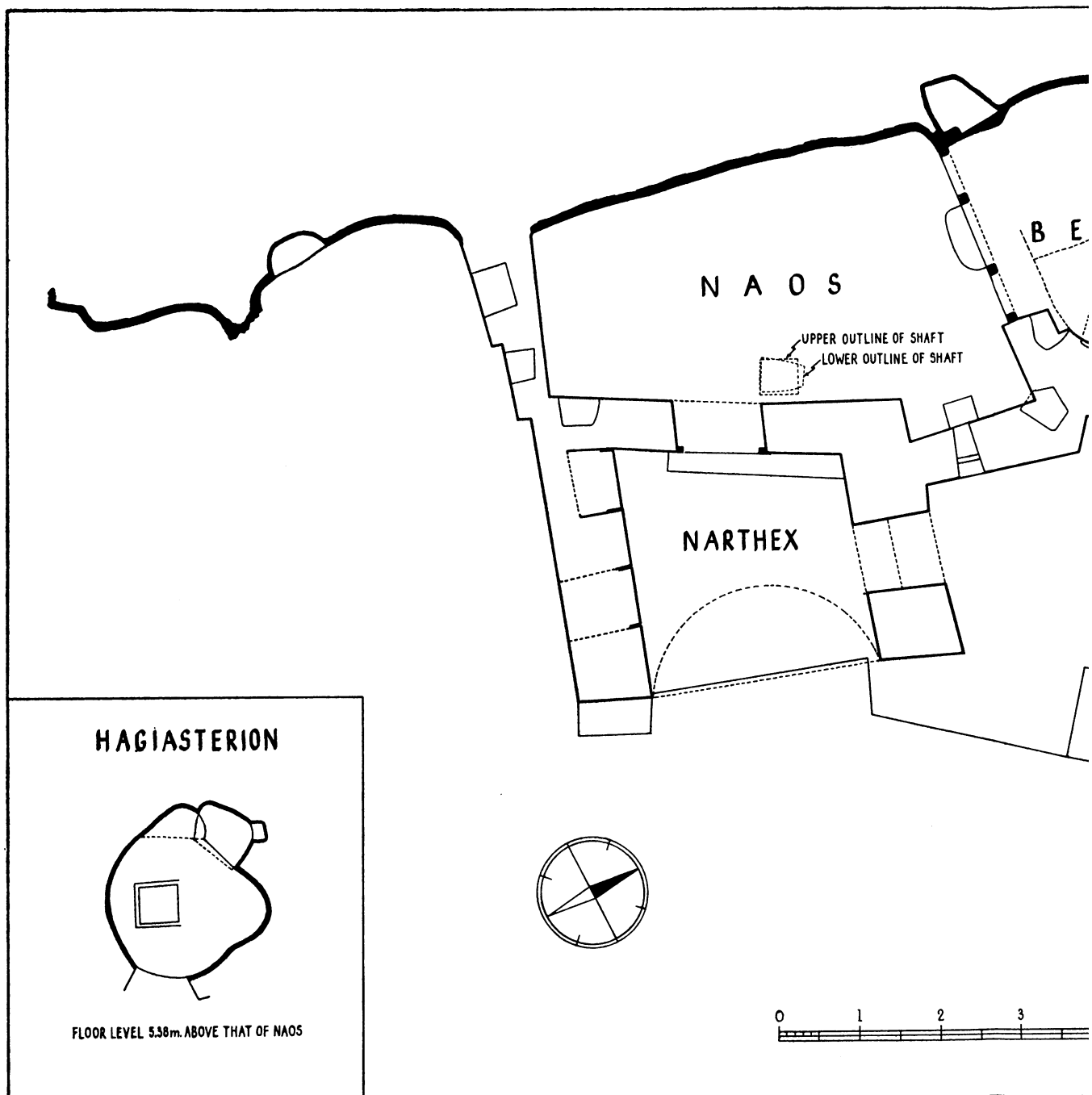
121. St. Neophytos, Choir of *Katholikon*.
Sts. Timothy and Ignatius

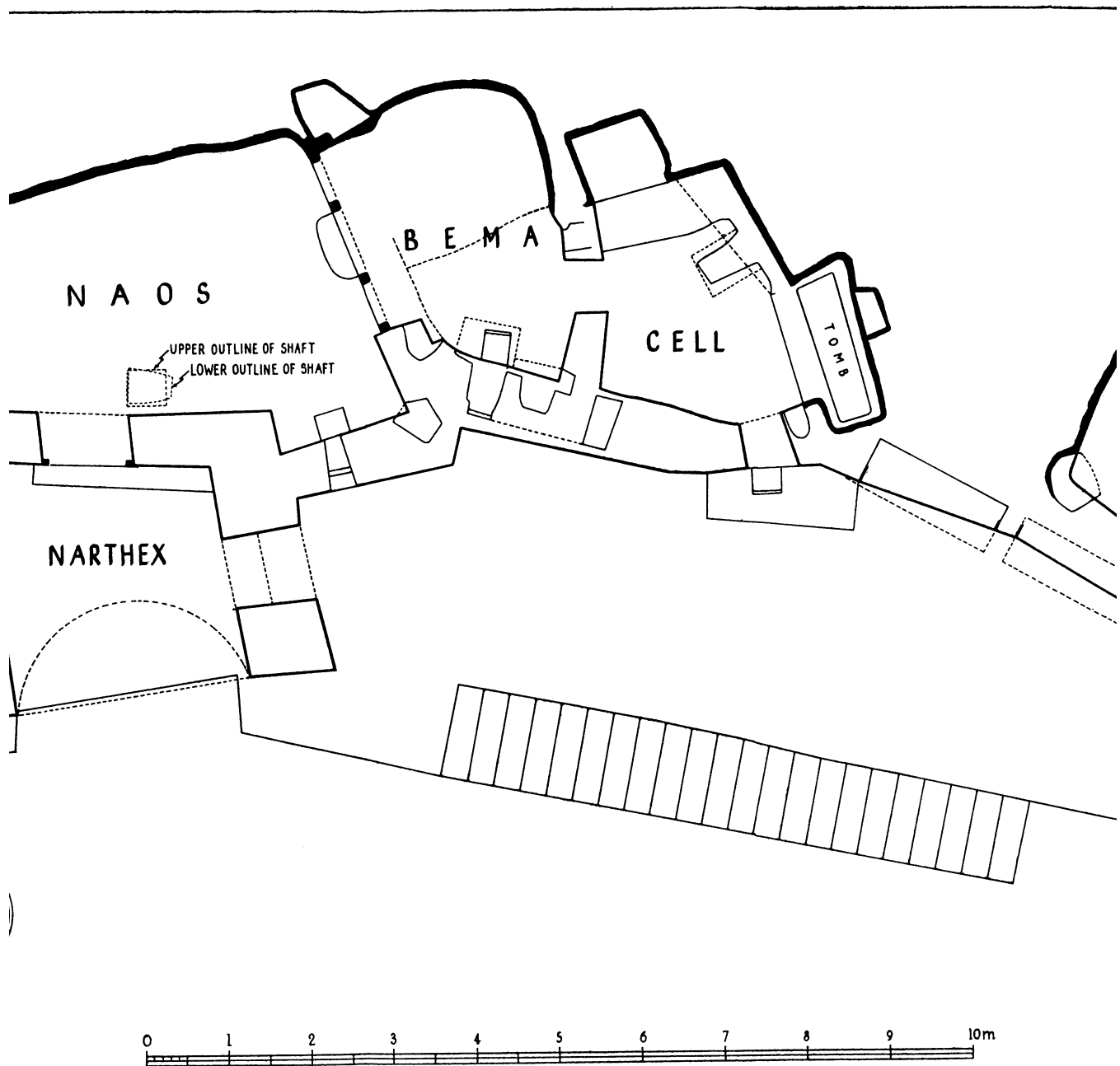


122. Antiphonetes Monastery. Icon of Archangel Gabriel

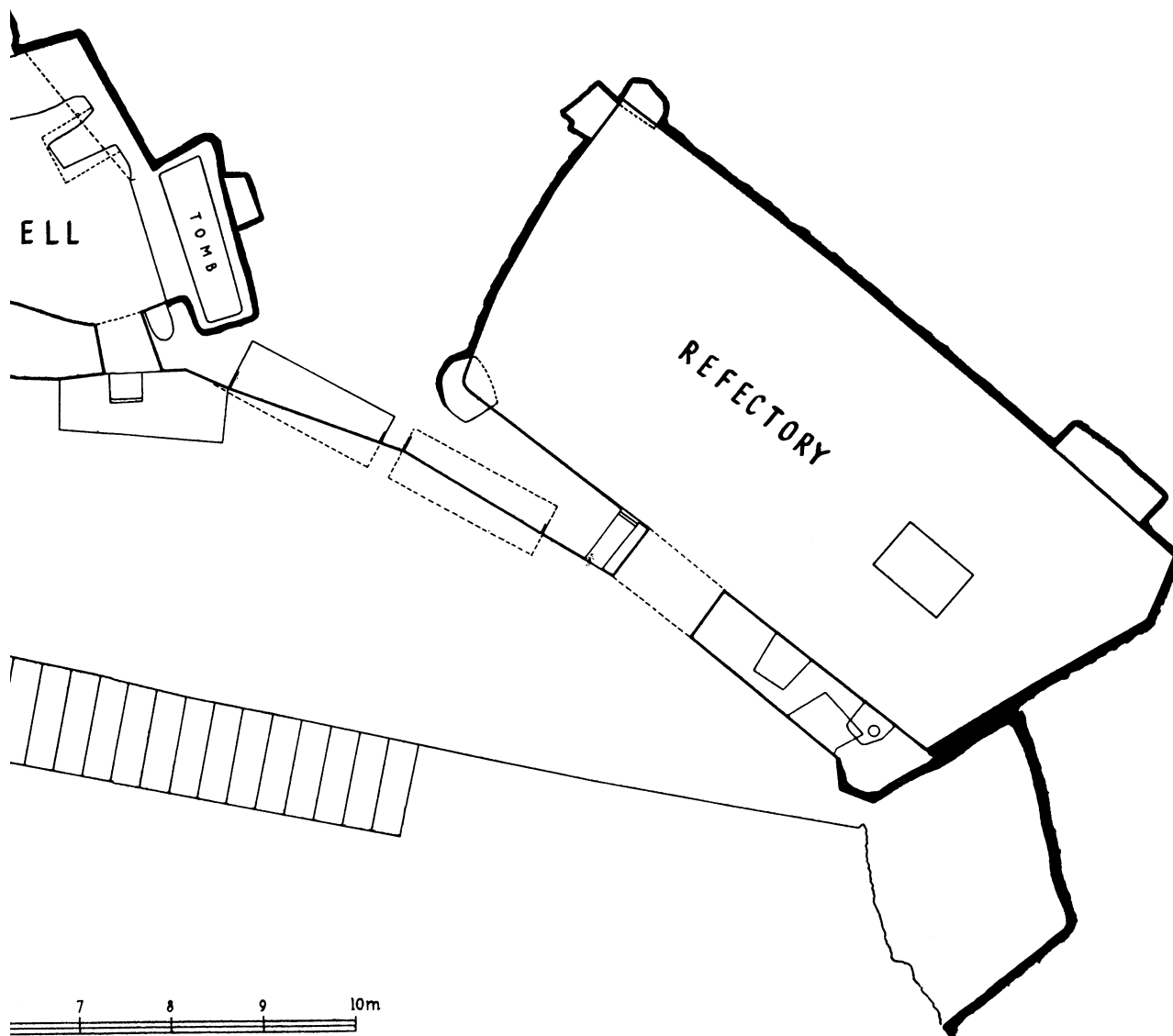


123. Dumbarton Oaks Collection.
Seal of Basil Kinnamos





D. Plan of Enkleistra Complex



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